REFLECTIONS

AND

RESOLUTIONS

PROPER FOR THE

GENTLEMEN OF IRELAND,

As to their CONDUCT for the Service of their COUNTRY,

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S ... MAHAL

2735

As Landlords,
As Masters of Families,
As Protestants,
As descended from British Ancestors,
As Country Gentlemen and Farmers,
As Justices of the Peace
As Merchants,
As Members of Parliament.

Sed cum omnia ratione, animoque lustraris, omnium societatum nulla est gratior, nulla carior, quam ea quæ cum republica est unicuiq; nostrum: cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares: sed omnes omnium caritates Patria una complexa est, pro quâ quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere, si ei sit profiturus? Quo est detestabilior istorum immanitas, qui lacerarunt omni scelere patriam; & in eâ funditus delendâ occupati et sunt, et fuerunt. Cic. de Offic. L. 1.

DUBLIN:

Printed by R. REILLY,
For GEORGE EWING, at the *Angel* and *Bible* in *Dame-street*, Bookseller. M,DCC,XXXVIII,
Re-printed, M,DCCC,XVI.

[redacted]

PREFACE.

2735

The very curious and interesting Work which is now Reprinted, and intended for a wide and gratuitous circulation, is also of uncommon rarity; there is not a copy of it in the Library of Trinity College, or in any of the other Public Libraries of this City, which have been searched on purpose. The profoundly learned Vice-Provost, Doctor Barrett, never met with one; and many Gentlemen well skilled in the Literature of Ireland, who have been applied to for information on the subject, are even unacquainted with the name of the Book.

That a Work of such exceeding merit should be so little known in these days, might at first appear singular to those who do not know that another Work (1) of the same Author is equally scarce, and that all the copies of it were called in with the most sedulous activity: at this distance of time, we have not the means of ascertaining the motives which may have actuated the Writer to suppress his Works, after having

(1) The Title of this very rare Book is "Memoirs of the Twentieth Century: being original Letters of State, under George the Sixth, relating to the most important events in Great Britain and Europe, as to the Church and State, Arts and Sciences, Trade, Taxes, and Treaties, Peace and War: and the character of the greatest persons of those times, from the middle of the Eighteenth, to the end of the Twentieth Century, and of the World. Received and Revealed in the Year 1728; and now published, for the instruction of all eminent Statesmen, Churchmen, Patriots, Politicians, Projectors, Papists, and Protestants, In Six Volumes, 8vo." London, 1733. There was something very mysterious in the History of these Memoirs, which were addressed in an ironical dedication to Frederick Prince of Wales, and only one Volume of the Work appeared. One Thousand Copies were Printed, but in less than a Fortnight 900 Copies were delivered up to Dr. Madden, and in all probability destroyed. The late Mr. Tutet had a Copy of it, and never heard of another, although he made many inquiries after it. A second is in the curious Library of Mr. Bindley, of the Stamp-Office, London; and a third was sold in Dublin, at the Sale of the Library of Dr. Kearney, Bishop of Ossory, in June 1815, to Mr. Triphook of London, for £8. 2s. 0d. It is believed that the present is equally scarce, and to be much more valuable and interesting to Irishmen.

printed them (2); but, we must lament, that the wise and patriotic measures, so eloquently proposed, had not been diffused amongst the Gentlemen of Ireland, and acted upon by them, with the same ardour that animated the respectable Author; if such had fortunately been the case, how would the Country, and its Natives have flourished, and what a contrast would the present times have afforded? It is with the sincerest and purest hopes that much positive, not ideal Good, will arise from its circulation, that it is now revived; and if those into whose hands it may fall, will, in their respective situations, conscientiously endeavour to attain what yet remains

(2) A well-informed Writer, in a Review of this Book, in The Dublin Weekly Gazette, 28, Sept. 1816, shrewdly suggests the reason —That, in 1738, Sir Robert Walpole was in the zenith of his power; and every one knows that Minister's antipathy to free political discussion; and to this country thriving at the expense of England.

to be done, the Expense and Labour of its Publication will be esteemed to have been well employed.

Of the Reverend Dr. Samuel Madden, the reputed Author of this Book, but few Memorials exist at this Day; and yet he was a Man of whom the great Samuel Johnson said "*His was a Name* Ireland *ought to honour.*" After very extensive and long continued enquiries, the only authentic information respecting him that could be found, was in that valuable repertory, Nichols' Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, Vol 2. Pages 31, and 169; and in Grosley's Tour in England, 3 Vols. 12mo. Dub. 1772. Vol. 2. Page 260. He is also mentioned in the new Edition of the Biographia Dramatica, by Jones, London 1812, Vol. 1. Page 478, and in Lem-

priere's Universal Biography. It appears from these authorities, not one of whom mention the Work now Re-printed, a proof of its excessive rarity! that this genuine Irish Patriot, received his Education in Dublin, and had some good Church preferment in Ireland. In 1731, we find him projecting a scheme for promoting Learning in Trinity College, Dublin, by Premiums to those Under-Graduates, who answered best, at the Quarterly Examinations; which are continued to the present Day, and from which successive generations have derived important advantages. In 1740 he settled an annual sum of £100, to be distributed, by way of Premium, to the Inhabitants of Ireland only; £50, to the Author of the best Invention for improving any useful Art, or Manufacture. £25, to the person

who should execute the best Statue or piece of Sculpture, and £25. to the person who should finish the best Painting in History, or Landscape; the Premiums to be adjudged by the Dublin Society, of which this most respectable man was one of the first founders; and which by his exertions, and those of his Compatriots, was incorporated the 2nd of April, 1749. Before November, 1751, the Society adjudged the following Premiums given by Dr. Madden; which are enumerated here, to evince what Arts and Manufactures were *then* thought deserving of such encouragement. Best flowered Silks, 10*l.* best Paduasoy, 10*l.* best Velvet, 10*l.* Planting most Hops, 25*l.* best Tapestry, 10*l.* most Fish caught and cured, first Premium 15*l.* second Premium 10*l.* best imi-

tation of Brussels and Mechlin Lace, 8*l.* second best, 5*l.* third best 3*l.* best Dresden, 7*l.* second best, 4*l.* third best, 3*l.* best Needle-work in Shades. 10*l.* second best, 8*l.* third best, 6*l.* fourth best, 3*l.* fifth best, 2*l.* The Premiums for 1751, were, best Tapestry, 10*l.* most Salt from Salt-water only, 25*l.* best Drawings by Boys or Girls under 16 years of age, 15*l.* best Sculpture in Metal or Stone, 25*l.* best Invention in Arts or Husbandry, if really deserving of it, 50*l.* The beneficient effects of these well applied Benefactions have not only been felt to advantage in the Kingdom where they originated, but have extended their influence to England, having given rise to the Society for the encouragement of Arts and Manufactures in the Adelphi, London.

Dr. Madden was also Author of a Tragedy called "Themistocles, the Lover of his Country," and of a Poem on the death of Hugh Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh. In an Oration spoken in Dublin, December 6, 1757, by Thomas Sheridan, he mentioned Dr. Madden's bounty, but observing him present, was prevented from adding, as he intended, the following just eulogium, "The Institutor of these Premiums, had he never contributed any thing farther to the good of his Country, would have deserved immortal honour, and must have been held in reverence by the latest Posterity, but the unwearied and disinterested endeavours during a long course of years, of this truly good man, in a variety of branches to promote Industry, and consequently the welfare of this Kingdom, and the mighty benefits which have thence

resulted to the Community, have made many of the good people of Ireland sorry that a long talked of scheme has not hitherto been put in execution, that we might not appear inferior in point of gratitude to the Citizens of London, with regard to a Fellow-citizen *(a Statue to Sir John Bernard)* and that like them we might be able to address our Patriot:

"*Præsenti tibi maturos larginus honores.*"

There is a fine Mezzotinto of him, a whole length, by J. Brooks, with this inscription,

"SAMUEL MADDEN, D. D.
Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo,
Omnibus his niveâ cinguntur tempora vittâ.
Virg. Æn. VI. 664.

May we here add Dryden's beautiful paraphrase?

Priests of unblemished lives here made abode,
And Poets worthy their inspiring God;
And searching wits of more Mechanic parts,
Who grac'd their Age with new invented Arts;
Those who to worth their bounty did extend:
And those who knew that bounty to commend
The heads of these with holy fillets bound,
Andall their temples were with garlands crown'd.

*

How transitory is all human greatness, when of a Man of such pure and ardent Patriotism, so celebrated in his day, and from whose labours we at this moment derive so many advantages, the little contained in this brief sketch is all that could be collected after long and anxious researches! It is now time to advert to his Book; It was printed in Dublin, in 1738, in octavo; without Preface, Introduction, or Table of Contents; which last, as it gives a synoptical view of the Work, has been drawn up, and prefixed to this edition. From this it appears that the Author proposed thirty-two Resolutions, embracing a very wide extent of Political Economy; on each of which he comments with all the ardour and enthusiasm of a genuine Patriot, and as a most sincere and unaffected well wisher of England and Ireland. It is extremely curious and interesting to reflect

on what such a man proposed, for the benefit of his Country in 1738; to see how much has been done to ameliorate its condition; *and how much yet remains to be done, to improve our Native Soil to the extent it is capable of.*

A Copy of this Book by lucky accident fell into the hands of the munificent FOUNDER of THE STOVE TENTER HOUSE, another Patriot of this Nation, for which it has been said "GOD *has done so much, and Man so little.*" He was struck with the sentiments which pervaded it; he wrote a few Notes in the margin, which are preserved in this edition; and every Reader must lament that his other important avocations have prevented him from noting the Work throughout, in a similar manner. But he felt that great and important advantages might arise to that Ireland, which

he loves so well, by disseminating the Principles and Practice so beautifully and energetically recommended by his great Precursor; and as Providence had blessed him with the means of doing it, at the expence of upwards of £160. he intends to disperse this new edition with a very liberal hand, amongst the Members of these enlightened Societies to whose guardian care is entrusted the Arts, the Manufactures and the Agriculture of this Kingdom. May his beneficient intentions be realized by every person competent to promote the happiness of their country!

And here it may not be improper to remark, that gloomy as the political horizon may occasionally appear, although Nations may feel distress as well as Individuals, yet at various intervals there arise great and good Men, who seem to have been born for their

time, and their country; whose Lives, and Energies, and Fortunes, are devoted to the grateful task of contributing to the welfare of mankind, by alleviating misfortune, by encouraging modest merit, by assisting the industrious, and by diffusing innumerable blessings around them. Such *was* Dr. SAMUEL MADDEN in the beginning of the last Century, and such *is* Mr. THOMAS PLEASANTS in this. When we consider his unremitting bounties to the really distressed, his noble donation of £6000 to the Meath Hospital, his liberal and enlightened augmentation to the Library of the Dublin Society, the elegant and commodious Lodges and Entrances to their Botanic Garden at Glassnevin, erected at his sole expence; and above all, that Temple and Asylum of Mercy and Industry, unequalled in Europe, THE STOVE TENTER-HOUSE in the Earl of

Meath's Liberty, Dublin, completed at a sum exceeding £13,000! We are struck with astonishment and delight, and must revere the head that planned, the hand that executed, and the generous heart that gave so large a portion of its possessions, for such salutary, such national purposes! It would be easy to enlarge on such delightful themes; but the conscious fear of wounding the feelings of one who shuns Public praise, and in the calm serenity, and dignity of private life, is fully satisfied with having faithfully performed his duties to God and Man, precludes the present writer from adding more, than to say to those whom a just and wise Being has enriched with his bounties, "Go THOU AND DO LIKEWISE."

But it may be permitted to expatiate a little on what may justly

be called a *National Monument*, which will shed its blessings and its comforts on the industrious Manufacturer, when the Statue of the Statesman, and the triumphant Arch of the Warrior are crumbled into dust.

From the first rude beginnings of the Trade, for years unnumbered, the distressed state of the Woollen Weaver was lamented deeply, by those who were acquainted with the process of his labour; the warp of his piece of Cloth must be prepared with Size, and must afterwards attain the fit degree of dryness before it is woven in the Loom; after being woven, it must be stretched on Tenters, to prepare it for finishing. These operations were of necessity performed in the open air, subject to all the variations and inclemencies of the climate; from these unavoid-

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able causes, days, often weeks elapsed before the work could be proceeded on; often the poor Artizan was compelled to bring his chain, as the warp is named, to the fire of an Ale-house; to compensate for its use, he unavoidably called for liquor; this as inevitably led to idleness, to debts, and often to a Gaol for those debts. How must the heart of the beneficent rejoice to hear, that since the opening of the Tenter-house, a most respectable Clergyman, Dr. Gamble, whose humane avocations for many years led him to the inspection of these receptacles of human misery, has reported, that not a single Woollen Weaver was confined for debt!

In this extensive Building, 216 feet long, on three lofts, no less than Thirty-six Warps, and Pieces of Cloth can be dried at one

time ; a few hours now perform what it took many days to endeavour to effect; and at the same time they are freed from the exposure to dirt, and the scorching of the Wool to its great injury.

By the present process, the texture of the Goods, is also most materially improved. The advantages of the Institution are open to all, under wise, salutary, and economical regulations, drawn up by the enlightened Founder, and carried into execution by Trustees of his appointment, two of whom, Messrs. *Joshua Pasley*, and *Thomas Parker*, have eminently distinguished themselves by their assiduity and care.

Nor is this Building to be considered as an object merely to promote an important Branch of our Manufactures ; it is deserv-

ing of the highest praise, for the permanency, the simplicity, and at the same time the ingenuity of its architecture: the system of Iron pillars that support the Iron floors and Tenters, is admirable; uniting strength, utility, and lightness, in a manner not to be outdone; and that nothing should be wanting to render it complete, a Boiling-house for preparing the Size, has also been erected on an improved plan, which greatly facilitates the labours of the Workman.

From this brief abstract it may be perceived, that the benefits bestowed on this City by our respected Countryman, are great and permanent; but it is not alone in Ireland that the name of PLEASANTS is esteemed amongst the benefactors of mankind. For years before the efforts of Wil-

berforce, Granville Sharpe, and Clarkson, could procure the abolition of the abominable Slave Trade; a kinsman of our Irish Pleasants, reduced to practice their humane intentions, and performed an act which should never be forgotten. In the American Register, for the 11th of August, 1786, is the following paragraph:

"Mr. Robert Pleasants, Merchant, on James's River, Virginia, has lately given freedom to all his Negroes; which consisted of several men, women, boys, wenches, and children. This Stock at a low valuation, is known to have been worth £3000 sterling; a rare instance of sacrificing so much interest on the altar of humanity!"

Surely for one Family to have produced two such Men, as these now mentioned, must afford more genuine satisfaction to its connections, than to boast of the Politician or the Soldier, however eminent; and when the future Historian enumerates the Patriots of Ireland, along with her USSHERS, her SWIFTS, and her MADDENS, he will record her PLEASANTS.

R. E. M.

1*st June*, 1816.

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That, as Landlords in this poor Kingdom, we will do our utmost in our little spheres, to remove the defects and difficulties which we find our people and country, and particularly our own estates and tenants, lie under.

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That we will build on our estates, and encourage all our Tenants to do so.

Resolution III. *page* 14.

That we will also plant and improve ourselves, and do our best to make our Tenants follow our example by all proper encouragement.

Resolution IV. *page* 18.

That we will with all possible care set forward and encourage every useful Manufacture among our Tenants, and especially that of the Linen.

Resolution V. *page* 22.

That we will oppose and discourage all ill Customs, that destroy frugality, thrift and industry in our Tenants.

Resolution VI. *page* 26.

That we will plant our Estates as thick as possible, and never lose an industrious Farmer whom we can keep by reasonable encouragement.

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That we will as Fathers and Masters of Families, regulate our conduct and expenses, as shall be most conducive to the service of Ireland and the good of our posterity.

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We resolve therefore as Fathers and Masters of Families, to use no sort of Clothes and Furniture which are not manufactured in Ireland.

Resolution IX. *page* 40.

We resolve as Masters of Families that as to Drinking, we will contribute as little as possible to the excessive and destructive consumption of Foreign Wines and Brandies.

Resolution X. *page* 48.

That as Masters of Families we will banish from our Tables that luxurious way of living, which is so common and pernicious to the Gentlemen of Ireland.

Resolution XI. *page* 52.

We resolve as Fathers and Masters of Families, to educate our children in such a manner as shall make them most useful in their Generation and serviceable to their Country.

Resolution XII. *page* 61.

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We will ever sincerely wish for, consult and promote the happiness and welfare of Great Britain as our common parent.

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That we will be so true to ourselves as never to hurt the trade or interests of Great Britain.

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We resolve, as we will never forget what we owe to England, so we will ever hope that she will remember what benefit and advantage she does, or may receive by encouraging us.

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We will with our best industry and care endeavour to remove every obstacle to agriculture and tillage amongst us.

Resolution XVIII. *page* 114.

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Resolution XX. *page* 126.

We resolve to improve the breed of our Horses and black Cattle, by importing the best we can procure from England.

Resolution XXI. *page* 129.

We resolve to use our best endeavours to get such laws passed as may supply whatever is wanting to the thorough improving, and perfecting, and encreasing our husbandry in Ireland.

Resolution XXII. *page* 137.

We will endeavour to know and understand the Laws of the Land, in order to answer the trust that is reposed in us, and put them in execution with zeal and integrity.

Resolution XXIII. *page* 140.

We resolve as Magistrates in our several Counties to prosecute with all severity of justice, all kinds and distinctions of Felons and Criminals, and above all those who are Murderers.

Resolution XXIV. *page* 144.

We resolve to put the Laws strictly in execution against all Vagabonds, Idlers and sturdy Beggars, as the greatest pests in this Kingdom.

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We resolve as faithful Magistrates in our Country, to join together to restore the discipline of our Laws against all Vagabonds and sturdy Beggars, and to re-establish and regulate the wholesome and wise Foundations of our Ancestors, the County Work-houses, as settled by our Statutes.

Resolution XXVI. *page* 151.

We resolve as Irish Merchants, that we will take all possible care by watching over the goodness of the Commodities and Manufactures we Export, to pay due regard to the Laws at home, and the credit and interest of our Country abroad, and the faith and honour of the Irish Trade in the World.

Resolution XXVII. *page* 156.

We resolve as Irish Merchants, both to discourage universally the infamous method of running of Goods, and also by carrying on and Exporting such Manufactures as Great Britain has left open to us, to remove all suspicion of our outrivalling her in the Woollen Trade.

Resolution XXVIII. *page* 159.

We resolve as Irish Merchants to do our utmost if assisted by the Legislature, to advance the traded Navigation of Ireland and to consider all possible ways and methods to encrease our Shipping and Sailors aud improve our Manufactures.

Resolution XXIX. *page* 167.

We will endeavour as Irish Merchants, if supported and assisted by the Legislature, to form such Societies and set up such Offices and introduce such new Manufactures and methods of Business, as may both direct, help and enlarge our Foreign trade, and also enliven our inland commerce at home.

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We resolve, as Members of Parliament, to remedy by all possible ways and means in our power, that great obstruction to the prosperity of this nation, the want of hands.

Resolution XXXII. *page* 203.

We resolve, as Members of Parliament, to provide and contrive all the best methods and ways we can for employing our people and encreasing their industry.

REFLECTIONS

AND

RESOLUTIONS, &c.

AS I am a native of Ireland, and have the whole of my Fortune settled there, I think myself, though very easy as to my own condition, as much obliged, by all the ties both of morality and self-interest, to labour to relieve the distresses of my countrymen, as a good citizen is to extinguish a dreadful fire, which, if it spreads, may reach at last to his neighbours and himself. It is certain the circumstances we are at present reduced to, seem to threaten the general happiness of all our people, unless relieved in time, and therefore, to answer these obligations, I have of late turned my thoughts every way to consider our condition in all the lights in which I could place it.

If one reflects on the great advantages our island has from its situation in respect of trade, the number and excellency of its ports, the clemency and healthfulness of its climate, the mildness of its government, and the great fertility of its soil, the convenience of its rivers for its inland and outward commerce, and the infinite swarms of fish that crowd its seas, as well as its freedom from plagues, and security from either foreign or civil wars, we should conclude it one of the happiest kingdoms of the earth * If to all these natural advantages we add the adventitious one of its having been, for some centuries annexed to the crown of Great Britain, and thereby under the government and influence of a limited monarchy, and the happiest constitution, both as to spirituals and temporals, in the world: If we consider it as possessed and managed by a people allied to, and descended from a nation where trade and agriculture, arts and sciences, wealth and liberty flourish to the highest degree, we might hope a large share of all those blessings would have been our lot, and descended down to us as the inheritance of our ancestors, who were sent hither to enlarge the British empire and commerce.

But on the other hand, if we turn our eyes to the worst side of the prospect, and reflect how little use use Great Britain has yet made of those advantages she might have drawn from a full planting our country, and improving our manufactures, and how wretchedly we have managed our trade, so as only to impoverish us and our tillage, so as to starve us, how we have sent away

* It abounds with all these advantages; plagues and civil wars excepted. There *have* been plagues in it; and, as to civil wars, it has been extremely unfortunate.

our wealth or goods for every thing we did not want, and made our nobility and gentry our factors abroad to help every nation but our own,* we must soon confess, we are either the most unthinking or unfortunate people under heaven. It is a reflection of Sir Francis Bacon, in his essay on the true greatness of kingdoms, that the blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet, that the same people or nation should be both the lion's whelp and the ass between two burthens; but had he known the present circumstances of the descendants of his countrymen here, I question whether he would not have retracted that observation, in pity to a people which with the honour of having English blood in their veins, feel the burthen of Irish poverty galling their backs. But what still aggravates our calamity, is, that we have utterly overlooked the only resource for our misfortunes or mismanagements by neglecting those methods and means of gain, which, might have borne the burthen of our other follies, having kept our poor as lazy and ignorant as we found them, and stupidly employed the best part of them and our lands, just as the Spaniards do the Indians and the vast Savannahs of America, to feed great droves of cattle.

By this means we have laid waste, and almost depopulated some of the finest countries in the kingdom, and instead of turning them to those great fountains of wealth, a gainful trade, handycraft arts, manufactures, and fisheries, we have made them and ourselves little better than contemptible drovers and butchers for wiser nations. It is true we have greatly lessened the numbers of

* The nobility and gentry make themselves those factors; open enemies to their country.

our sheep, and shall, by that and other methods, in time remove the just jealousy of England, which we stupidly kept up, by running our wool, in defiance of all laws and penalties, to the rivals of their manufactures; but instead of generally ploughing up our sheep-walks we have turned most of them to bullocks or dairies, which is as fatal to our prosperity as the other;* and, in a word, nothing but our linen trade (which, thanks to the care and pains of our trustees, is encreasing and flourishing) has kept us hitherto from bankruptcy and ruin in that terrible want of specie which our follies have brought us to. In this dismal situation of our affairs we have no hope of any relief from our neighbours in England, or those of our ungenerous countrymen, who spend our wealth there and in other countries to gratify their vanity and pleasure, and as little from ourselves, while our present reigning fashions and follies, of indulging in foreign luxuries and manufactures of all kinds, continue among us as they are like to do.

It must be owned indeed, that Ireland has often shewn a sort of elastic virtue in recovering itself from the lowest condition to its natural state of ease and plenty, on several great revolutions it has undergone; but it is as true, that the great springs, which gave it that force, are spent, and there is now no resource left us but from that frugality and industry, which are the grand support of all nations.

It a known maxim in the civil law, *Interest reipublicæ ut quilibet re suâ bene utatur*, (it is of importance to every country that men manage

* And how often have base frauds in that manufacture severely injured its credit abroad?

their fortunes well;) and certainly one of the first leading laws of every nation should be to regulate men's conduct in this great point to the welfare and general good of the whole. Could we hope for such laws as would effectually restrain our luxury, or force us to frugality and labour, and to encrease our trade, I mean our useful trade, we should expect to see an happy change in our affairs; but as that is not to be expected immediately, we have no other hazard for our deliverance from our present poverty and misery, bnt what must take its rise from the weak foundation of our own resolution and virtue.

Though we cannot at will make acts of parliament for the nation, we can certainly prescribe laws for ourselves and our own conduct, and if we can but be true to our real interest and welfare, we may so order our private management at home, as to make up for our public extravagance and follies abroad. Nations are composed of separate families, and if every gentleman in his own house will once determine, in his little sphere, to keep his country in his eye in all his expences and management, we may yet be retrieved from ruin; and if once the tide of custom sets this way, we, who have ever been more scrupulous in observing the worst fashions, rather than the best laws, may see the scene shift, and all men unite in the service of Ireland.

Every true friend of his country will never content himself with the poor apology of saying "I am but one, and cannot alter the unthinking "conduct of others," but will do his best to amend and reform every mistaken point of his own, his friends, or neighbour's conduct, which affects the public welfare. To shew how feasible and useful this would be, I will endeavour

to branch out this matter into several of the most important heads, and draw up proper resolutions under each of them, by which we may hope to serve our country, and which we may resolve to prescribe as rules to ourselves, without pretending to dictate to others.

Now as that of a landlord is the single circumstance, which is of the greatest importance and weight, and contributes chiefly to every one's influence and power, let us begin with that as the principal engine we can employ in this useful work, and lay down as the main foundation-stone of our little building this first Resolution, viz.

*That, as landlords in this poor kingdom, we will do our utmost in our little spheres, to remove the defects and difficulties which we find our people and country, and particularly our own estates and tenants lie under.**

In the first place then, as the greatest of our difficulties is that of our gentlemen living abroad, we will lay it down as an unalterable rule of our conduct, to live constantly in our own kingdom. As worthy and as useful a member of his country as I know in it, has shewn that we lose by our absentees only above £500,000 per annum, and though some people may think more were abroad than usual, when he drew up that account, yet if a new list were made (which is much to be wished) I am persuaded it would come very near the former. While this drain continues to run we can no more expect to thrive, or even

* Admirable endeavour! An indispensible duty; and he, who does not do it, is an enemy to his country.

subsist, many years under it, than a man who bleeds largely every week, can hope for health, and strength of body, and consequently, as far as our fortunes go, we will lessen it all we can, or if we are forced to go abroad for a while it shall be for real business,* and not for pleasure or vanity, and with as little expence and for as short a time as possible. It is but too evident, that the constant absence of so many of our gentlemen, is the great source of all the distress and poverty, which so many of our people groan under, and how men of such probity and honour, as many of them are, can relish pleasures,† which are purchased at the expence of such a crowd of miserable creatures, is a little unaccountable. There is certainly such a crime as treachery to one's country, when men abandon, and forsake it, as well as treason against one's prince: and it is well known that our Irish statutes formerly punished them equally, with the forfeiture of their lands; and though our laws are long since altered in this point, yet certainly to desert one's fellow citizens in their distress, and to have a share in the occasioning that distress, is an imputation no worthy man should willingly bear. How much then must it aggravate the cruelty of such conduct, when the authors of it are revelling in pomp and pleasure, while they see their native kingdom in so deplorable a manner sinking into ruin. We have heard of Nero singing over that burning Rome, which he had set

* And which business may be of advantage to the country.

† Accounted for thus, by me: they are sensualists, who disregard what may be the effects of their dissipation to others; and above all, to their poor tenantry; whom they are, by the laws of God, "Do as you would be done by," bound to help, and, in every reasonable instance, to succour.

on fire for his pleasure; and one could almost say, that for the sake of a little music, or such like wretched diversion, many of them seem to act the same part. But leaving the inhumanity of such behaviour, to the reflections of their own hearts,* it must be our care to repair the decays, and relieve the sufferings of our unhappy country as well as we can by residing and living in it: we will attend it as religiously as a dying parent.

Non satius cineres patriæ insedisse supremos? VIRG.

Nay, we will not only resolve not to live out of Ireland, but we will think ourselves obliged to carry this much further, for we will live as little as possible off our own lands. Even living in Dublin, is a custom that has many ill consequences attending it; it is ruinous to moderate fortunes, and hurtful to the greatest, if we take their children into the account. It is true, it is not so prejudicial to the whole of our country, yet has it very ill effects as to our lands, and all those tenants who want the influence, direction, and assistance of their landlords. Besides, a gentleman who lives on his estate, and spends a large share of his rents there, does not only like a great tree necessarily improve the soil it grows on by the leaves, and mast that fall from it; but also by the warmth, and shade, and shelter, which it casts around. This method would necessarily produce so many advantages, where men consult either their own or their tenants interests, that I have often wished we had a law, to oblige every gentleman to build, and keep in

* Leaving it to a bad chance, a forlorn hope.

repair one mansion-house on some part of his fortune, of such and such dimensions, suitable to his income, and if this extended even to freeholds of £20 per annum, it would not only greatly prevent a non-residence extremely hurtful to life and manners, but would be productive of many excellent effects, which I shall speak to presently. And let no man be so weak as to say, that this which would prevent our destruction, would lessen the gain which Great Britain makes by our absentees; for besides the absurdity of such reasoning, and that still numbers must stay in England, it is certain if our gentry continue to desert us, we must be undone in time, and become a burthen and loss to England, who must then be forced to send them all home to us, and also must help to relieve and maintain us; whereas if a reasonable number of them would return to us and improve their estates and set up manufactures on them, and thereby encrease the the little fund of our wealth and trade, we should in time, save immense sums to Great Britain, which she pays to her rivals for linen and sail cloth, and be a perpetual addition to her riches by a moderate encrease of ours. We could then spare her double the number of our gentry without feeling the loss, when our common people were once made warm aud thriving by their industry, and secured from relapsing into their present distresses.

We must therefore lay down another Resolution in the second place, as an established rule for our conduct, which is,

That we will build on our estates, and encourage all our tenants to do so.

Building on our estates, makes our residence there convenient and agreeable, will greatly influence our successors to continue on them, and preserve the seat of the Family, and not only repair, but improve it, and where this is wanting, an estate suffers as much by the absence of the landlord, as a ship does by the want of a captain, when the crew is left to themselves. This is a great and necessary circumstance to the well-being of Ireland, especially where often in great estates of several thousand acres, you will not meet with two houses of stone and lime, fit (I will not say for a gentleman but even) for a farmer to live in. Besides a great number of good houses and out-houses fit for farmers and tradesmen, add greatly to the value of an estate.—I have seen very judicious computations, where the buildings of England are reckoned worth double the purchase money of all the lands, and eight times the value of the cattle and stock grazing on them, and where the very houses in and about London, are valued ten times higher than all the current money in England. It must therefore be a great addition to the real wealth and value of the fortunes of our gentlemen, and the national treasure, to make such lasting improvements among us, which do not only beautify the face of our country, but give heart and life and spirit to our people. We may go yet further, and assert with truth, that good and substantial buildings are as great a security and defence to men's possessions and quiet in the country as fortified towns are to the frontiers of kingdoms. The weakness of cabbins, renders the inhabitants fearful and emboldens thieves, and intimidates those who dare think of prosecuting them; nay it even discourages thrift, where it is unsafe to

lay up money, which is open to every invader. And yet to our shame, we must confess that in Ireland our tenants (I speak of the poorest and greatest part of them) have rather huts than houses, and those of our cotters are built, like birds nests, of dirt wrought together and a few sticks and some straw, and like them are generally removed once a year, and consequently as migratory, and not so durable, as the carts and waggons of the wandering Tartars. Numbers of them have no chimney, either for want of wood, or skill to build one, but vent the smoak like those of the Hottentots; and if we had a market, as Mr. Beauplon says, the Cossacks have for wooden chimnies ready made, our poor people have not a penny to buy one. As miserable as they look on the outside, the family within are full as wretched, half starved and half clad,* so that there is an absolute necessity to lodge them better and use them to warmer cottages and cloathing and a cleanlier way of feeding and living, if we would have them cultivate their lands or manufactures to any purpose. The flax they spin is generally sooted and blackened with the smoak, and sells at much the worse price for that reason, and no trade or business can be carried on, nor even butter or cheese made, or drink brewed, or life itself sustained with any ease or comfort in them. We should therefore improve their buildings as well as our own houses, and see them more snug, warm and decent, to give them a taste and desire for the reasonable satisfactions of life, and this will be the best way to spur them on to industry and labour, for the more they spend, the more they must earn, but

* Almost *whole* starved; and almost *whole* naked.

if they keep in their present sleepy sloth, dirt and rags, they will never labour, but prefer the dog's life, ease and hunger. This reformation would not be so difficult to compass, especially in those families that are not of the very worst and poorest sort, if we would give them little helps of timber or lime, or allow them thirty-one years leases at least, and the first year or half year's rent, according to the value, free to the building.

I have often thought it would be an improvement peculiarly useful, if not necessary, to Ireland, if, where we can with convenience, we would try to build a few cabbins arched with brick and covered with clay and sods beaten together, and pared to the pitch of the roof on the arch, for some of our cotters and poorer tenants; for this method would save the poor infinite labour in building and expence in repairs, and would be safe from fire and almost from time, and, though a lasting advantage, yet of very small cost to the landlord.

It were also to be wished indeed, that even our gentlemen would, in their country seats, imitate Colonel Newburgh, a great improver in the County of Cavan, who, as well as several others, does not only use stucco work instead of wainscot, but has arched his fine dwelling house and all his large office-houses story over story, and even all their roofs in the most beautiful manner without any timber. Besides a number of arguments for this method, I will only say here, that had this fashion prevailed of old, so many hundred fine seats of our ancestors had not been dstroyed by fire in 1641 and 1688, by the barbarity of the Irish, nor had such numbers of them and their poste-

rity been hindered so many years from settling on their estates. It it true, we are now safe from having our houses burnt by soldiers, but our fashion of wainscoting all our rooms, keeps us in almost as much hazard, by the negligence of servants, and makes them as liable to fire as the wooden houses of the Muscovites, where a single candle often destroys whole towns. But to return to our tenants, As for the better sort of them, who are a little able to bear the expence of building, they should have contracts in their leases, that they shall he allowed such a sum for their houses when they expire, for otherwise it is expecting as the Egyptians dealt with the Jews, that they should make bricks without straw. Such an allowance was ever appointed by the civil law to be made by the lord of the soil to the vassal, or else he was at liberty to remove or demolish them. This is now the custom in Saxony and Flanders, and it is certainly but reasonable and equitable and less chargeable, than paying for repairs as they do in great part of England. Some of our laws as they now stand, are great obstacles to building, particularly those which allow no tenures to Papists above thirty-one years, nor to Protestants, if on church lands, above twenty-one, both which might be removed by clauses from landlords of allowances for their dwelling houses, at least when their leases expire. Our marriage settlements also are as great incumbrances in this point, which together with the narrow way of thinking in most landlords, generally averse to long leases, will be hard to be removed. I am persuaded however, if we had an act to impower us, notwithstanding settlements or the Popery act, to set a lease for ever of only ten or twenty acres at

most even to Papist tradesmen, who would covenant to build good houses of lime and stone, and enclose, ditch and plant the ground into a little orchard and garden and three or four small parks, we should soon see many thousands of such improvements rising in our country to our great profit and ornament, and the benefit of our manufactures. It is this has made the isle of Jersey* all one garden, by its being broken thus into an huge parcel of perpetual small freeholds, and we should feel the same advantage from it, and yet our rent-rolls would rather rise than sink hereby, as the bulk of our lands would continue to be set on short leases.

But in the next place we will lay down this RESOLUTION, *viz.*

That we will also plant and improve ourselves, and do our best to make our tenants follow our example by all proper encouragement.

This is as absolutely necessary as building, for the same good end we should ever keep in view, and should be provided for and secured by proper clauses in all our leases, where the bargain and the tenants abilities allow of it. It is strange, that in a country where about one hundred years ago near one fourth part of the profitable land was under vast forests,† we should now be reduced to a necessity of planting, or lie under an encreasing expence of 40,000l. per annum, which we now pay for timber. But this

* It certainly is a beautiful island.

† It is said that one hundred years ago a squirrel could go from Londonderry to Cork, by leaping from bough to bough.

great waste of our woods proceeded from many causes, for not only England, but foreigners, used to build great numbers of shipping here, as commonly as they now come to our ports to victual them. Not only our English colonies, which came over, as is usual in all new settlements, but our armies and garrisons employed themselves chiefly in destroying the great forests, as the main shelter and lurking places for rebels, thieves, &c. and many landlords tied their tenants to burn nothing but wood, and to cut down so many acres a year. This in process of time helped to clear the land, our buildings and spendthrifts with our tanners and our iron-works soon devoured the remainder, and our planting goes on now as slowly, as if we still remembered the inconveniences our ancestors suffered from the huge woods in their days. Even those gentlemen who improve among us, are generally more fond of building a lofty house, with handsome out-houses, &c. than making large and noble plantations, though the first be a sort of rent-charge on the estate, and the latter a mighty addition to its value, and has a beauty and magnificence, when well ordered, which the greatest princes may envy and often want about their palaces. But indeed most of our gentry (which is a great obstruction to this good work) are observed to be more fond of making new purchases than of improving their old estates, to double the value by planting and making drains and enclosures and hedge-rows, with all the arts of good husbandry; though this last and best sort of purchasing can be accomplished by slow degrees and small sums, the expences of trees and ditches being very trivial, and the work done by low wages to one's own poor cottagers

and tenants, to the great advancement of the rent, which often costs but four or five years purchase, and no danger from a bad title. This mismanagement of theirs, I hope indeed, will lessen every day, but their tenants are so little inclined, or able to bear the expence of planting, and the profit is so distant, that it were to be wished the law had allowed them the whole of it, which if once done, would soon be of mighty advantage even to the landlord, as well as the kingdom, who would have the benefit of the enclosure and the shade or shelter to his land, the young growth when cut down, and probably a great bargain, if he buys the trees. There should also be larger premiums for planting orchards and fruit, as well as forest trees; but the greatest help of all to this good work (as I observed before as to building) would be an act to allow small perpetual freeholds, notwithstanding settlements, to all, who would undertake and perfect such improvements, or at least to empower us to give much larger tenures, than those which are now in use. But more of this hereafter. Until such a law is made, we must give the best encouragement we can to our tenants, who will plant and improve by favourable allowances and clauses in their leases; this will breed yeomen, and enable them to get freemen and not slaves, and influence them to make the most of their farms, and to love their country, and not escape out of it as from a jail, to go with felons and bankrupts to the West Indies. If all our ditches were by law to be planted with quicks and forest trees, we should soon have a sufficient stock of timber for most uses, and especially if those who sell woods were obliged to copse them: But in the mean time,

we should persuade our tenants who have good leases to plant in this manner, and even the poorest should set their ditches with sallies, which as to bark and timber for small houses, is an improvement that would be of vast service to the kingdom. Until nurseries for sale are more common we should make great ones, of our own, and give so many trees out of them, as may serve our improving tenants either gratis, or at a low rate; though certainly, if public nurseries, were settled in every county it would do much better.

I shall add but three things more as to planting and so I will quit that subject. The first is that it is absolutely necessary, to have some law, obliging all who have freeholds for ever of 5l. yearly rent and upwards, to plant such a number of forest trees, and also an orchard, of fruit trees, in a reasonable proportion, to the estate they enjoy, for such an act, though it may seem and prove a little burdensome at first, would end in great advantages, to all private families concerned, as well as the public. The second is that we ought to try if ash, and sycamore keys, acorns, beech mast, &c. would not thrive in some of the best, and most sheltered parts of our coarser lands, and mountains, if sown in rills two or three feet asunder in small enclosures fenced on the top of the ditch, with sallies for warmth, for if this be found practicable, as I doubt not it will, it is to be hoped, many who have not, or cannot spare rich grounds, even for small plantations, would lay out large ones in ordinary, or mountainous grounds, which are of little value. The third point is to give an hint, of the advantage, it would be both to the public, and to private families, if gentlemen, were allowed by law, to bequeath a limited quantity

of acres planted, with forest trees, to help the small provision some of them leave to their younger children; and to allow a proper time, for cutting them down and removing them off the land: for I am persuaded, many a careful manager, would by this means, do great good to his country, and children, whom otherwise he had neglected.

Let us now proceed to another RESOLUTION, of equal, or rather greater consequence, to Ireland, which we ought to prescribe to ourselves, as landlords, viz.

That we will with all possible care set forward and encourage, every useful manufacture, among our tenants, and especially that of the linen.

Every one knows, who has thought at all on the subject, that our exported manufactures, bring vastly more profit to us, and are infinitely more advantageous to the kingdom, than our beef, tallow, hides, wool, corn, &c. and as those of our linen, are the great stay, and support, of this island, who ever wishes, or at least deserves to be supported in it, must even for his own sake, and to help his tenants, do his utmost, to spread and increase them. There is not a closer union between food, and life, than between them, and our prosperity; as they grow, we shall thrive, and as they decline, we shall decay, and dwindle; we are secure of the countenance of Great Britain, in this branch of trade, as we fell into it by directions from thence, and by the advice, of the English House of Lords; to say nothing of the constant recommendations, from our lord lieutenant, to our parliaments,

which have occasioned so many excellent laws, to this end. Nor can we have the least doubt, that we can ever be discouraged in it, since it will always be the interest of England, that we turn ourselves this way, as thereby our sheep walks, and wool and our running it either raw or manufactured, will every day lessen. We should therefore, on all those accounts, do what we can to promote our linen business, either by setting up a manufacture, of several looms ourselves, or if our want of skill, prevents that, by obliging our agents, or assisting our tenants, to carry it on in that method. Nay, we should by dispersing wheels, and reels and flax-seed, among all our tenants, poor, and rich, and by encouraging weavers, and getting our tenants' children bound to them, lay such a foundation for industry and improvement this way, as shall afterwards effectually secure their own ease and plenty, and our rents together; and in time, make all our estates a more dispersed manufacture. This will be the great source, and the only great one, that is open to us, of prosperity to us, and Ireland; and indeed if gentlemen, could once be persuaded to build little towns, on their lands, and undertake setting up large manufactures, and bleach-yards themselves, and by degrees, spread the linen business, through the whole of their tenants, they would in the best manner possible, improve the circumstances of their own fortune, and that of the public. It is plain as to setting up such little colonies, that whatever loss there may be at the first, the gains in time, will largely make amends for it. Cootehill, Lurgan, Monaghan, and a number of our towns, in the North, are evident proofs of this, where by the loss of a small sum, compared with the future profit, the lands, for some miles round, have

risen to treble the value, and in a little time, I hope many other places, in the three southern provinces, will, by the care of judicious, and provident landlords, be as remarkable proofs of this matter to the world.* Besides the certainty of so vast a profit, it should be considered, that a gentleman, who sets up a large manufacture, and thereby provides food, and raiment, for thousands of his fellow-creatures, is in the eye of reason and his Creator, infinitely a more valuable man than he, who for the glory of being senselessly hospitable, feeds an idle croud of eaters and drinkers at his table, and swills their guts there with French wine, that is, with the blood of his country: As our poor manufacturers are the strength and wealth of our nation, so the nourishing them, and keeping them honest, and industrious, is the greatest act of virtue, and yet through the goodness of God, extremely gainful to him, who acts thus. It is true, I have heard of some worthy gentlemen, who have lost considerably by endeavouring to set up designs of this sort; but we may as well blame trade, which some merchants are ruined by; and besides, I fear setting large farms, to weavers, as they did, is not the way to establish manufactures, but by building towns for them (as we observed before) or dividing them into very small farms, just sufficient for milk. A very few thus settled, and trusted, and favoured as they thrive, and having but small rents to answer, will soon perfect the business, without trusting too much rent, or money in the hands of strangers. Were the funds of the linen board

* Small hope of this whilst so many of our unthinking, unfeeling landlords spend their time and money abroad.

double, or treble what they are, the skill and care of our excellent trustees, would before now, have raised the manufactures, under their direction, through the whole kingdom, to a great height; and indeed, it is unaccountable, how we have pinched, and confined, our industry that way, instead of enlarging it, and giving it full scope, and play.

In my Lord Chancellor Methuen's time, when the first steps were taken to set set up the linen business here, there were larger funds, designed for it by the act, which was then thrown out, lest the commissioners, who were to raise them might abuse their trust;* but had their power been well limited, I believe Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, had been in tenfold a more flourishing way this day, and vastly more populous and improved, than, to our loss, we see they are. Besides a large fund, proportioned to the work, would enable our trustees, among other things, to bring over many skilful hands, from Holland, and Flanders, and to improve our manufactures in fine threads, tapes, cambricks, and bone lace, to the utmost, which are now in want of all the assistance we can give them, not to mention our hempen manufactures, which by such additional funds, might in time be carried to great lengths as we shall shew hereafter.

Till the wisdom of the nation shall provide such funds, every man in it should, in his little sphere, do his best to supply that defect. Nor should his care be confined, to the linen, but should extend to all other manufactures he can improve or begin, and every artificer and han-

* Commissioners abusing their trust, what an infamous robbery!

dycraftsman, who is skilful and industrious, is to be aided and befriended, by proper encouragements, so far as his labour can be of real use, and advantage, on our estates, it being certain that ten labourers, do not save, or gain so much to the public, as one industrious or able tradesman.

Another Important Resolution, we should lay down, for our conduct as landlords is this, *viz.*

That we will oppose and discourage all ill customs, that destroy frugality, thrift, and industry, in our tenants.

The definition which some one gives of custom, that it is the plague of wise men, and the idol of fools, agrees with no people on the earth, so well as my countrymen; for they seem to have adopted, some of the most pernicious ones, to their own well being, that they could have thought of, and to retain them as fondly as if they judged it a mark of freedom and independency, to reject those of the English, and ruin themselves their own way. However, it is certain this proceeds, chiefly from the little care that has been taken to wean them from them, for as the example of the gentry, is the great source of acting in all countries; so it is remarkably true in Ireland, that they imitate and copy after those that are above them more than other nations. The worst customs they have, are all derived from their old chiefs and heads of clans, and had their rise from their poverty, misfortunes and want of conveniences, and opportunities to learn better. For certainly, the hu-

mours, and fancies of the Irish, are as easily turned as the courses of rivers, if a deeper and wider channel be dug for them to run in, and especially, where there is still less doubt of the change. As the commonwealth has an interest in the life and manners of every subject, it ought to regulate them, but as many of them are overlooked by the legislature as too trivial for its observation, every gentleman must correct and reform them, as far as he can by his own authority and example.

The first custom I shall mention, which deserves to be abolished, is that of giving large quanties of liquor, and especially aquavitæ at funerals. If a man dies and leaves a widow with four or five small children and eight or ten cows, the price of two or three of them must be laid out this way to the utter beggary of the family. Drinking at funerals was reckoned so barbarous by the virtuous Romans, that it was forbidden by one of the laws of the twelve tables, but here it is aggravated with the guilt of sacrificing the living to the dead. It is surely a shocking sight at any funeral to see how many hundreds of idlers are by this vile fashion brought together to the loss of their families and farms that want their work, and the great damage which the kingdom suffers thereby. If such crowds must be brought together, I am sure, the English way of giving dole-money to all who would accept it, is vastly better than giving them drink to debauch and destroy them. Nay this vile fashion occasions more beggars, than any of the many bad ones they have, and it also breeds up the whole of the people with a relish and love of that beastly vice drunkenness; which is not only the ruin of

many tradesmen, but of trade itself. It destroys their time, their substance, their health and strength and understandings. Nor is it only at funerals, but at marriages and christenings they are as guilty of the same excess, to as great a degree; so that it would be impossible for the natives to be able to bear such extraordinary taxes on these common accidents of human life, if they did not live without the common necessaries of it the rest of their days. I am persuaded that they have borrowed the excess of their expences at these ceremonies from the Danes, who for so long a time played the masters here, and governed with as severe an hand as they did in England, for I find travellers generally agree that to this day, the people in Denmark are remarkable for their extravagances on these accounts; and I heartily wish this were the only resemblance they have of that people. But I fear they are altogether as like them in the miserable poverty and pride, which like the hot and cold fits of an ague, equally by turns make their lives uneasy. But these things speak too plainly, to need being enlarged on; and a dropsical person, may as well expect health, while he indulges in liquor, as our poor Irish can hope to thrive, while these customary tiplings are allowed of.

The laziness and indolence of our people is another universal habit and custom that should be discouraged as much as all the rest. As industry and labour is the great source of riches to all nations, how ruinous must this terrible humour be, which infects so many thousand people, even of those (for I leave our beggars for another place) who profess labour and depend on it for their support. Many even of these follow

their work but from hand to mouth, and as if they thought, as the Scriptures speak of the Jews, "their strength was to sit still," they will wait no longer than the scourge of necessity is held over them. The Chinese say with some truth, as to their policy and trade, that all other nations have one eye, but they have two, but I fear we may say with more justice of the Irish (and their beloved Spaniards may go along with them) that all other men have two hands and they but one, and that, they often keep in their breast. I remember Montaigne in making up his account of his yearly expence sets down, "Item, for "my indolent humour 50l." but I fear at least a million* must be charged on the same account to Ireland. Formerly they often sold their yarn and butter by night, and as privately as possible, thinking it disgraceful to make a profit of the industry of their wives; and I have known reproaches and from thence quarrels on this matter; but they are grown wiser now, and would every day grow more so, if they had once learned the secret, that they might purchase a great deal more comfort and plenty with a little more pains. A better way of living and an encrease of our people and manufactures, and consequently an higher price for the necessaries and conveniences of life must be the great cure for this evil, together with the landlord's eye† over them to punish the sleepy loiterer, and encourage and employ the industrious. Our linen yarn and cloth, when effectually spread

* Why confine it to a million?

† And the landlord himself to shew a good example. "Precept teaches, but example drives."

through all the provinces will fully employ the idlest part of the nation, the women and children; and encouraging trade, fisheries and tillage (of all which more hereafter) would soon make an happy change in the rest. By these means, it is demonstrable, we might annually gain near a million more than we do, and grow rich though our people spent two thirds of it in England. We should then grow in love with labour in proportion, as we found the conveniences of food and raiment, which many of them seldom think of now, but when they are naked and starving. It is one of our greatest misfortunes, that we are so much under-peopled, and as we have but little hopes to remedy that evil suddenly, the best method we can take to help us herein is, to do our utmost to keep all the hands we have so busy, as that they may do as much work as double our numbers would do under less care of the landlords, and worse laws and regulations of our manufactures. But I shall now proceed to the last Resolution to direct our conduct—as landlords in Ireland, *viz.*

That we will plant our estates as thick as possible, and never lose an industrious farmer whom we can keep by reasonable encouragement. *

Crowds of people make land and the produce of it valuable, and without them our best grounds in Ireland would be as worthless and useless as the wide wastes of America. It is but putting ourselves a degree or two above the savage Indians there, if we have only tame beasts to roam about our lands instead of wild ones, for it is demonstrable that the first devour more

* Right good maxims.

people thanthe latter. Dividing our farms into small holdings and little tenures is the high road to improve the industry of the occupier, and the value of the ground where nothing is lost, and every spot made to exert its utmost fruitfulness with the greatest skill and management.

It should therefore be our constant endeavour, both to manage well the stock of tenants we have, and also to bring in and settle little industrious colonies where our lands want them, and by proper, good bargains and long leases make all of them love their situation, and by degrees spread even over the barrenest parts of our lands. If we watched over the breed of our tenants, or cherished them as much as those of our horses, &c. we should soon have droves of men, and labouring men instead of bullocks and sheep, and find the wide difference in the profit by making use of them, as of our nursery trees, to plant our lands to the best advantage possible. Our people by such encouragement would like thriving hives throw off new swarms to seek out the best and nearest settlement to the mother-stock; and rob the earth of its annual sweetness by their industrious toils, and then improve its produce by all the arts of manufacture.

It is chiefly for want of this care in our landlords, that such shoals of our families have gone to the West Indies, * by which the nation loses near thirty pounds an head, valuing them as little better than slaves and negroes; besides the substance and manual arts they carry with them,

* I believe there is no doubt of this. But what cares the dissipated, dissolute, hard-hearted landlord; they may go to the devil for him. Where is he going to?

which will come to much more. Had they any proper encouragements good usage or bargains here, they would never run the hazard of long voyages and ship-wrecks and being starved at sea, or dying by the country disease when they get on shore; by which at least one-third of them * perish, and especially of the poor infants, whch they sacrifice to their wandering humour. They would never go to live with transported felons and thieves and the off-scouring of the earth, where there is no worship paid to God, or regard to men; where they can neither see their old friends, acquaintance or relations, where all the conveniences of life as cattle, cloaths, furniture, beef and even Indian flour are so excessively dear, where labour and slaves are so expensive, and where they must build their own houses, and stub and grub every acre they get, and thereby pay fully thirty years purchase for it; and where at the same time their lives are every hour in danger from the treacherous assaults, day and night, of the savages, and from open wars of the French and Spaniards, and their goods from the private thefts of their neighbouring felons. But as numbers of late have been shipwrecked or died there by famine, and others returned from thence beggared and undone, and as there is now good encouragement in Munster and Connaught for the people in the north to go settle there, possibly by the care of our government and the kindness of wiser landlords (if they send their agents among them) this evil may in time be removed. This I am sure of, it has weakened and is weakening the Protestant interest so much, and hurt the whole of our na-

* I apprehend this to be a true painting.

tion so grievously by carying off the two things in the world we could least spare, our ready money, and the hands that used to bring it into us by their manufactures, that remedies should be thought of as soon as possible.

One would hope it would secure us from the continuance or return of so terrible a drain, if some act past obliging all who go off, to give security for paying their debts, and if the landlords were allowed a right of pre-emption, or some part of the purchase-money of their leases for their consent, or if to encourage their return (which would greatly discourage others to purchase) they should be allowed their leases again notwithstanding the sale, if they came back in twelve months time and repaid the purchase-money, it might be no ill means to keep our people at home, or bring them back to us. It might also be an effectual stop to this prevailing humour, if our merchants and gentlemen would join, and employ one of our ships, that trade thither, to bring back in her return all Irishmen gratis, who desired it; for I am persuaded the account they would give their friends on their return, would be above all others the most efficacious remedy for this galloping consumption of the kingdom. Were our gentlemen in Munster and Connaught, half so diligent in sending people and letters among them, and bearing their charges to see their lands and proposals as those from America are, we might soon see these swarms of our little northern hive settle there, and prevent so much of the blood and treasure of the nation running off from us, and then we should in time see those parts of the kingdom well peopled, not only with Protestants, but weavers, spinners and bleachers like the North.

And having thus summed up the chief rules, which we should observe as landlords for the service of our country, I shall only say in the close, that if gentlemen would with zeal and spirit endeavour to practice such of them as they found the most convenient it would be the greatest service to their families at the same time that it would be of the highest advantage to our neglected country. But alas! the truth is, that most of our landlords have no other view or care as to their fortunes, but to rack them as high as they can, and then spend the rents on their pleasures, diversions and luxurious living, and leave their wretched tenants to shift for themselves entirely forgot and disregarded. This is both the greatest inhumanity and also the greatest imprudence, for at last, by the breaking of the poor people, who fall in arrear and are unable to pay such high rents, we loose more than we gain, and pay a dear fine for our cruelty and avarice, and neglecting to take due care of our tenants, and the directing, assisting, and improving them every way. Whereas if even for our own sakes, we would watch over the wants or defects of our poor people to supply them, and would both set them good bargains, and help, advise and befriend them in all the points we have been speaking of, we should improve our own fortunes as well as their circumstances, and at the same time become fathers to the poor and patriots of our country. How would such a gentleman be loaded with just praises and blessings of the happy people who live under him? who as his dependants, and creatures live by him and through him, to whom he becomes as it were a God upon earth, sustaining, protecting and providing for them, and in whose

charity and providence under the Almighty Governor and Lord of all, they live and move and enjoy their being in the truest sense of the word.

Let us now consider ourselves in another very important situation, where every one has considerable influence and power when properly exerted, and that is as a master of a family, and let us lay down this first RESOLUTION, as absolutely necessary to the great end we keep in view namely,

*That we will as fathers and masters of families, regulate our conduct and expences, as shall be most conducive to the service of Ireland and the good of our posterity.**

It is a little unaccountable, that many of our gentlemen, who would hazard their lives to defend Ireland in an invasion, or a war, can be so careless in the management of their expences, to save it from that inevitable destruction, which it must fall into, if they allow in themselves or encourage in others, the consumption of foreign commodities. All of them that see the evil and give into it, either think themselves excusable, because it is fashionable, or else they are so easy in their circumstances, they fondly think the bad consequences will hardly affect their private fortune, and are careless as to the public. It is true most nations do indulge in some degree in this kind of luxury, but it is as true that while it is only expensive to them it is fatal to us, for it stands them only in money which they abound with, but it costs us the very lives of our people, whom we starve or drive abroad,

* It is an indispensible duty on every head of a family.

whom we cannot spare and might employ, if we used their manufactures. But though it only took away our money, do not we all know that this drain of our specie has sunk our credit and trade into a dangerous consumption, and is it not high time to put a stop to it, while there is any hope of our recovery. On the contrary we squander it away as if we had too much of it, or believed the keeping of it would hurt us, and throw it into the laps of foreigners, as the mad philosopher did his, into the sea, and destroy it, lest it should destroy us.

We all know that in common life, he who lays out his money on what he has no occasion for, is reckoned little better than a spendthrift, though he buys it ever so cheap, but if he pays dear for it also, his extravagance speaks him a fool, but if the prosperity or misery of his family depends on it, he becomes in every one's opinion a perfect madman. Let us carry this reflection from a private family to a whole nation, (and what is a nation but an union of many families) and consider what name our conduct deserves, who lavish our food and raiment for trinkets and toys, to please the eyes of fools, and drinks and dainties to please the palates of epicures.

One may easily conceive why we should give one half of our substance for corn, and coals, bark, hops, and iron to our neighbours, but why we should squander away the other half for silks, lace and liquors, is inconceivable I own, if we are supposed to act upon the common principles of reason and self-preservation. Is there no other cure to be hoped for our extravagance but absolute poverty, and an utter incapacity of paying for the riot of their palates and fan-

cies? Is it not a reflection big with the ruin of us all, that the nation was never poorer or finer than now; as if we thought to conceal our poverty as Comines says Lewis XI. strove to conceal his sickness, by each day putting on finer cloaths till he died.

Certainly whosoever among us desires to have no share in contributing to the ruin of his country ought to determine to have nothing to do with foreign luxury; and as all the necessaries and even the conveniences and rational satisfactions of life are to be had from the products of our own fields and hands, we should as much as possible confine our expences to them.

Nay we should think ourselves obliged as good Irishmen, to confine them within the bounds of an honest and rational frugality, not only that we may keep ourselves and our dependants above the scorn of a base and mercenary world, but that we may not leave them, as too many do, a race of beggars and a rent-charge and burthen on a country already sufficiently impoverished. We should therefore try to imitate the thrifty Dutch who live on two thirds of their income, and lay up the other for a provision for their children. This alone would make them rich without the help of their beneficial and extensive trade and would be no ill remedy to us, who lose every year, by the commodities imported for our luxury, what we gain by those we export, by pinching the backs and bellies of our starved and naked people. I cannot say how this frugal method, we resolve on, may be relished by those of our countrymen, who generally follow different courses, and are not content with spending their income, unless they contract large debts besides, many of which (that they may be

as honest as they are wise) they never pay, though their creditors and their families are undone by trusting them ; but I am sure our country would find the benefit of it, if it were followed by all. It is certain the Swiss cantons and some of their neighbours in Germany, who export nothing but horses and black cattle and their produce, would not grow so rich as they do, if their sumptuary laws had not prevented all expence in foreign commodities, and at the same time introduced a national habit of parsimony among them. Reflecting on these things, more than we have done, may do us some service, and perhaps we shall find in time that frugality is not only necessary to keep a little money, but that it is also as necessary to keep a little virtue and honesty among us.

A very slight acquaintance with history is sufficient to convince us, that the natural consequence of out-living our fortunes, must be, and in all states, ever has been, rapine and extortion, and a dishonest pursuit of money as the only resource of men's extravagance. Nay when men have reduced themselves to narrow circumstances by their high living, rather than part with their estates, they will chuse to make sale of their own liberty, and that of their country together, if it has any to lose, or they can get any to bid for it. Whereas a prudent management of their fortunes naturally keeps the bulk of every nation warm and in heart, and its gentry free and independent, and as unlikely to be tempted to injure their country, as secure to resist the temptations, which a false pride or a real necessity makes too many yield to. Besides all these advantages to the public, and the particular interest of every family, we may also add, that frugality is the

great source of that simplicity of manners and content of mind, which is the best foundation for human happiness; whereas luxury and vanity, and an affectation of politeness and delicacy, is the troubled fountain of all that uneasiness, envy, vexation, and spleen, which makes so many of our gentry unhappy and wretched, amidst the plenty and peace and satisfaction, they might otherwise enjoy. As we have therefore laid down this general rule for the whole of our management, we will also fix some particular Resolutions, for all the great articles of expence, which can either affect the welfare of our families or country.

*We resolve therefore as fathers, and masters of families, to use no sort of cloaths and furniture, which are not manufactured in Ireland.**

This, as unfashionable as it sounds, is only saying in other words, that whereas several hundred thousands of my fellow creatures in this island get their bread (or would if we would let them) by spinning and weaving, and dying, &c. several linen, silk, and woollen commodities, I will come into no iniquitous fashions, or conspiracies of their enemies at home or abroad, to beggar and starve them. I hope I may be forgiven the harshness of the expression, if I say the finest lady, in this fine country, may throw away so much of her thoughts and time, as to consider that she can by contributing her mite and her vote, prevent the driving of so many poor families, with their wretched offspring to

* What would not this do?

despair and destruction, and at last make it more fashionable to feed them by working in their own houses than begging at our doors. And yet the only way to do this is to encourage and employ them,* which is the method all nations on the earth have ever followed, except this unhappy island; and has been the only means, by which all their manufactures have been nursed up, and at last, and by slow degrees, brought to perfection, and all their defects (which naturally arise from ignorance, poverty, and its usual companion, deceit and imposition of all kinds) carefully removed. Make it once worth their while to be industrious and honest, and our tradesmen will soon grow so, and that can only be done by bearing with their faults, and buying their goods. A sure and quick market, will in time improve our stuffs, and our silks as effectually, as it has our linen, which had faults enough at first, till an enlarged demand for it begot numbers of manufacturers, and thence a sure prospect of gain, by honest industry, then skill, and at length perfection. This is the sole expedient to keep our poor workmen from misery and want, and remove their tricks or ignorance, as it will make their reformation and improvement, their interest by letting them see, we are fixed to push forward their industry, and take off their commodities, instead of railing at the badness of the work, the poorness of the pattern, the breadth or the fineness, the strength or the beauty, when the force of the objection at the bottom is, that it is Irish, and made in a country, out of which

* But on the other hand, the manufacturers should try to make better goods.

as the Jews said of Galilee, "we think no good "thing can come." However, I will venture to be so unpolite, as to say, that if any thing could lessen the charms of our Irish ladies, in the eyes of our countrymen, it is to see them drest out in the spoils and pillage of their country, and riding in triumph, like a barbarous conqueror, great by the murder of half a nation. Paint or the small-pox could not more effectually deface their charms; whereas, how amiable, on the other side, must she appear, who with all her ornaments, takes no other pride in her dress, than that so many Irish families owe their lives, as much to her splendour, as to that of the sun. Can truth to her future husband, or piety to heaven adorn her more? Surely no! to shine and to bless, and be blessed, is peculiarly, is deservely her lot, and may the number of her admirers be ever equal to those of the poor, whom she thus feeds and cloaths, by the charity of her magnificence. It is chiefly to the prevailing of this generous regard to our poor in our ladies, that our island is to date its prosperity or misery, for as the great business of dress is entirely under their influence, and as all fashions arise from them, if they once resolve to grace, and encourage our manufactures by wearing them, we shall see them vastly improved, in proportion, as foreign ones are discouraged, to the mighty benefit of our people. We can never forget when our starving manufacturers had collections made for them in our churches, and our ladies took up a resolution to wear their stuffs and silks, what an influence it had, and what great assistance it gave to thousands of poor families, whom this short lived humour retrieved from ruin; and if this method of our ladies

wearing our own manufactures, should ever grow to be customary, and get the sacred name of fashion stamped on it, it is scarce credible what industry, plenty and prosperity it would spread through Ireland. Our gentlemen (except some very fine gentlemen indeed) have equally shewn their humanity and good sense, in this particular, and by their careful wearing and encouraging all our manufactures, have brought them to a degree of perfection, that is very surprizing in so short a time, and under so many difficulties. If this spirit had not been raised and kept up among us, we must have worn frizes, or like so many merry beggars sate over our French wine, in worn out scraps of Dutch linen, and English rags.

It is true our broad cloths, as well as our silks, have not that beauty and fineness with which our neighbours in Great Britain make them up, but thank God, we begin to think ourselves sufficiently fine in our own feathers, and Ireland may say to some of those very pretty fellows who think otherwise, as Lewis XIV. did to the Dauphin, who wore a fine English suit on his birth day: "Sir, you had done more honour "to me and your countrymen, had you been "dressed as I am, in our own plain drap du "Berry." We read in history of one Hippias, who was justly admired by all Greece, at the Olympic games, for being dressed from head to foot, in his own manufacture, and though none of us can come up to this good Grecian, yet all of us should take care to place the main circumstance, as to ornament in dress, in being habited in the produce of our own lands, and the workmanship of our natives.

Every six pence spent in foreign goods, is robbed from our people, and is so much bread taken from their hungry mouths ; and he among us who thus neglects his country, though he may rail at absentees, for impoverishing it, is so far to all intents and purposes one of them himself, with this aggravating circumstance, that he does freely and of choice, what the others are often forced to. We should therefore be so far from encouraging such a practice in ourselves, that we should not allow it in any one in our families, from the highest to the lowest ; nor should any trivial defects in our manufactures prevent our persisting in this resolution, being sensible that they all proceed from the poverty of our workmen, and that from the want of encouraging them to make better. This is the effectual way to stop the excessive drain of our imports, which eat up the vitals of our people ; and if there was an association in every county, to this end, or such a subscription as was set up in 1664, in the old duke of Ormond's government, it would be of infinite service to us.

The melancholy fate which the lace bill had, that was, in the last sessions, thrown out by the parliament, gives us little reason to hope for sumptuary laws to restrain our extravagance in such things ; and therefore every one should prescribe such a law to himself and his dependants, and make it as inviolable as those of the Medes and Persians. Our laws have indeed provided a decent suit of cloaths for every one of the poorest of our people, when they are dead, but without some method of encouraging our manufactures, we can never hope to see them wear any thing but rags while they are living.

Another great article of expence which affects the welfare of Ireland, is that of our table, and therefore it seems necessary to lay down this unalterable RESOLUTION for our conduct therein.

We resolve as masters of families that, as to drinking, we will contribute as little as possible to the excessive and destructive consumption of foreign wines and brandies.

This would seem a terrible sentence to a country, that, of late years, has flowed with wine, as much as the land of Canaan did with milk; but alas! it is just as reasonable in our present miserable circumstances, as if a physician should forbid fast living to a patient in a deep decay. And yet as debauched as we are grown, many men can remember when we were as remarkable for our sobriety, as we are now for rioting and drunkenness; when our ancestors, of the best families of the nation, used to have their wines brought in by dozens, and when sack and spirituous liquors were sold, at the apothecaries shops for cordials to the sick. The taverns indeed have long since taken that trade out of their hands, but in return they have brought them in ten fold, a greater one, for their drugs, by encreasing the number of patients, and what is worse, of distempers too. And indeed if a list were made of all our Irish gentlemen, who in our own memories have lost their lives, or impaired their constitutions by too much good nature, in complying with the usual excesses, it would possibly make us drink a little less and think a little more; we are now grown to that excessive extravagance in wine, and what

is still more injudicious, in French wine, that we pay at the lowest medium above 130,000*l.* *per Ann.* for our wine and brandy from France alone, besides large quantities of the latter which are run, nay the very duty in one week for wine, has lately amounted to 18,000*l.* and if it were possible we could pay for it, I question not but we shall have more and more imported on us from the senseless and ridiculous emulation our gentlemen have fallen into, who shall have the largest cellar and spend the most hogsheads every year. This has raised the value of wine immeasurably at home, as well as a good deal in France, so that as if we feared we should not be ruined time enough, we use twice the quantity and give double the money we used to do, which, if it were worth while to complain of any thing in Ireland, is (I speak it with all deference to our good merchants and their wise customers) a little hard. At the groom-porters the gamesters are allowed to call for wine gratis, which is favour little enough to comfort hundreds that are beggared there by that trade, but our merchants after having half undone us by one traffic, which leaves our poor nothing to eat, compleat our ruin by making us pay in the most exorbitant manner for a little honest liberty to drink hard. It is true, our good friends in France and Spain have used us ill in raising the price, as we do ourselves in enlarging the quantity, but as I can't express this better than in Sir Francis Brewster's complaint on the same point, the reader will forgive me if I quote that gentleman to whom Ireland is infinitely obliged. It is in his Essays on Trade, p. 35. "I begin with that of wines, "and in that we transgress two ways, first in the

" rates we pay for them, and then in the ex-
" cess of our use of them, and in both these
" to the reproach of our nation and the wonder
" of our neighbours: And it is the more un-
" happy since, as we raise the price of foreign
" commodities, they lower the rates of ours,
" and by that beat us from the original trade,
" which was at worst to pay for wines with our
" manufactures, but most commonly, we had
" money to boot. In my father's time (who
" dealt much to Spain) the first costs of Sherries
" seldom exceeded twenty pieces of eight the
" butt, and that of the Canaries not 280 ryalls
" plate the piece, and now the first seldom goes
" under 40 and the latter 800. And in the com-
" pass of my own knowledge almost as great a
" rise has been on French wines. The first cargo
" I was concerned in from Bourdeaux, we had
" the best Greaves wine for 24 crowns the tun,
" which I have lived to see current at 48. I
" give these few instances which I think enough
" to denominate us amiss in our conduct in
" trade. God has given us understandings at
" least equal to other nations; and a country
" exceeding any in Europe, for the product of
" nature and situation for trade, and yet this
" like the fortune of a debauched heir is con-
" sumed in luxury, which might be thought
" worth the consideration of the great council
" of the nation how to restrain." Thus far the judicious Sir Francis Brewster, and since I have quoted him I will venture to add a few lines from Mr. Gee's ingenious tract on the trade and navigation of Great Britain, which is as applicable to our case (page 113,) in these words.
" Before the beginning of King William's war,
" our great consumption of wines was those of

" France, and the highest we annually imported
" from thence did not exceed 18 or 20*l.* per
" tun; but Florence wine being the dearest and
" scarcest was generally accounted the highest
" entertainment. But the prohibition of French
" wines soon made them scarce, and consequent-
" ly they became most fashionable, and he
" the finest gentleman that gave the highest
" price for his claret. The gentlemen about
" Bourdeaux that could keep their wine soon
" found out our foible, and instead of selling
" their best wines at the prices they did before
" the war, got them up to 80*l.* per tun, or
" more, and some particular importers chose ra-
" ther to keep up those high prices than to have
" them cheaper. I mentioned to one of those
" importers the great folly I thought it was to
" raise the price upon ourselves; he replied,
" the greater prices they gave abroad, the greater
" profit they would get by it. Gentlemen would
" not think it good unless it cost them five or
" six shillings the flask. However I believe this
" evil might be remedied, and those very wines
" bought abundantly cheaper, for no other na-
" tion pretends to give the one half of what we
" now give." These quotations, since they are so big with matter, and so nearly concern us as well as Great Britain, will deserve, from beginning to end, a little more time to think on, than it may be we can spare, but they may lie here till we have more leisure, or reason to reflect on them, for at present I am not so absurd as to hope or imagine, that we should give ourselves any trouble about remedying so necessary an evil, which, as the poet says merrily of his friend, " we can neither bear, nor live without." For this affair of drinking is grown so fashion-

able a vice, that there is neither managing any business, gaining any point of interest, carrying any election, or procuring any place or preferment without it. We drink, as Tacitus describes the old Germans, night and day, and though we have poisoned our bodies and debauched our minds, though we have enriched our enemies, impoverished ourselves, and undone our wretched country, yet to comfort us, this may be said for our honour, that we have got the character of bearing our national miseries with the best grace, nay and of being the most boon companions, and the fairest drinkers in Europe, and, what is worth all the rest, of paying our good merchants fully as well as beggars do the alewives.

What is most amazing in this epidemical madness is, that there are few men of virtue or sense among us but rail at it, lament it, and practice it; and while they censure the folly of the custom and the tyranny of fashion, and own it will be our destruction go on to continue it and gravely drink the prosperity of Ireland in its blood. It puts me in mind of a story, which the famous Menage tells us of a footman in Paris, who owned with sorrow to his father confessor, that he had beggared his family and spent all his wages by this amiable passion for drinking. When the confession was over, the honest lacquey pulls out some halfpence to pay the priest, "no! no!" says the good father, "upon my word! not a farthing, poor fellow, keep it for drink." It is much in the same way, that we pity and pardon one another, and live in a very charitable and hospitable manner together, emptying our purses and filling our cellars as if we thought to lessen our distresses, by enlarging

our extravagances, as honest Milo used to encrease his strength every day by augmenting his burthen. But let us say of this deluge of wine, which has sunk our country, as Seneca does of Ovid's description of that, which destroyed the world, it is indecent to sport thus with the destruction of nations, and to divert ourselves with scribling on the general ruin in so light and trivial a manner, and as we can never expect to see this bane of Ireland entirely removed, let us content ourselves with hoping that our legislature will soon lay such further taxes on this consumptive drain, as may hinder it from beggaring those of more moderate fortunes among us. For this affectation of drinking wine has got even into the middle and lower ranks of our people, and the infection is become so general, that a little hedge inn would be forsaken by our drovers, horse-jockeys, cadgers and carriers, if they wanted it, or at least something which the merchants have given a strong resemblance of wine to, not only as to its colour and smell, but even as to its taste. Thus this poison is circulated to the loss of the nation in point of health, as well as in vast quantities of vinegar, which such wine might often serve and sell for, and the expence of great sums, which our poor people can ill spare, if it were not for the glory of drinking like their betters. And indeed as in all national plagues, each man endeavours in the most unaccountable manner to infect his neighbour, so this horrible one is now spread by all, through all, to that degree, that in some years ale will be drunk only by our lahourers and beggars, and our barley be scarce worth sowing, or dunging our lands for it.

If French wines, were liable to a much higher tax, this evil might be remedied, and since wine we must have, why we should not encourage that of Portugal by lower duties, is very strange, since it would help to sink the price of French wine, and is much wholesomer, and would waste less of our money in buying it, and as it is stronger less of our time in drinking it: And surely our middle people may be contented with it, since it is certain that in England, few gentlemen of 1000*l.* *per Ann.* ever buy an hogshead of French wine in their lives. We should in all reason also lay a prohibition on French brandy, since we see it will otherwise be run upon us, and above all, as our distillers make excellent spirits, from our own grain of aquavitæ, which are as palatable and vastly cheaper, and wholesomer, and do also furnish us with usquebaugh, which no nation can come up to. The Danes, we see in the late Lord Molesworth's account of that kingdom, make excellent brandy out of their barley, and thereby entirely prevent the vast consumption of French brandy, which they used to pay so dear for, and why we should not be as frugal as they, I cannot see, unless as the proverb says, we think there is a time when it is too late to spare. Were orchards more generally planted among us, by some such law, as was hinted before, we might soon have cyder enough, not only for the common use of our own tables, but for inns and alehouses, and to serve to make an exceeding good spirit from, which is equal to most I have seen; which is another reason to make such a law be thought of. I have often met with mead in gentlemen's houses, which the best palates mistook for palm wine or sack. It is certain that in Poland, and

Muscovy, it is the general liquor, at the best entertainments, and is one of the pleasantest and wholesomest beveridges in the world, and equal in strength to most wines; and I can see no reason why our gentlemen should not use and improve it, unless it be that it is made at home, and is too cheap to be offered our friends, and too dear to be given our servants. There are many other most agreeable liquors used in England, and that were formerly made here by our ladies of quality and fortune, such as gooseberry, cowslip, currant and rasberry wine, but our delicacy is so great, and our taste so refined, that the worst sort of French wine, though so unwholesome and so dear, is preferred before them; and I fear will ever be so, though our lives and fortunes were put in the balance with them. Before I leave this terrible subject of drink and liquors, let me observe that the three articles of chocolate, coffee, and tea, and especially the two last, are not only extremely expensive, but to a great degree prejudicial to the health, strength, and vigour, both of the minds and bodies of our people. There are a considerable number of physicians, who have wrote books against them, and represented them as a kind of slow poison, and forewarned every one to abstain from them; and though some others have writ in their defence also, yet certainly till the dispute should be decided, every body should be cautious how they habituate themselves to them, and at least not to take them in large quantities, and two or three times a day as many do. But how faulty soever chocolate and coffee may be, tea is allowed by all to be so great a narcotic, such an enemy to the nerves and fibres, so apt to occasion palpitations, and dejection of

spirit in both sexes, and to have so large a share in our common nervous disorders, that though it brought as much money into the kingdom as it takes out of it, we ought to load it with such a duty as might at least preserve the poor from its ill effects, who cannot fee physicians. But I am weary of writing to no purpose, for possibly if St. Anthony of Padua had preached to his famous congregation of fish, to have lived in their beloved element without drinking, he would have made just as many converts as I shall do in this matter, and therefore I shall dismiss it, and pass to another article of expence, as to our tables in Ireland, upon which I think we should lay down this reasonable RESOLUTION, *viz.*

That as masters of families we will banish from our tables that luxurious way of living, which is so common and so pernicious to the gentlemen of Ireland.

This is a charge which has long lain against us, and I am afraid with so much justice that we have generally found our best defence was to stop our accusers mouths with good cheer, as thieves take off evidence, by giving them share of the plunder. The truth is, though this is a failing which most northern nations in Europe are a little subject to, yet if we may seem a little more addicted to it than others, I fancy we must lay the blame of it on the circumstances of our country, and the original customs and manners of those who came over as adventurers in the many wars and troubles that

so frequently happened here. As therefore the bulk of our gentry are descended from Englishmen and soldiers, they seem to have inherited their stomachs, as well as their courage, which have been so often whetted by feastings and famines in their turns, that it has made us the fonder of enjoying our plenty where we can get it. And besides this, it is certain we have had few people and less money here, and little or nothing but land, and great herds of cattle, to lay out our little wealth on, and provisions being so plenty, does as naturally beget good cheer, as wild wastes of pastures do cheap grazing. We had neither the buildings or gardens of Italy, her antiquities or pictures, her statues or manuscripts, to refine our taste, or employ our time, or our money on, and so, I fancy, instead of imitating the wiser people on the continent, we fell to what was next us, and enjoyed what the richness of our soil, and the frankness of our people, when undisturbed by war, threw before us; with all this it must be confessed that we have carried this matter too far, and that many of our estates and families have suffered by this poor sort of kitchen luxury, which Seneca calls the worst fate they can have, *fœdissimum patrimoniorum exitium Culina.* This is one sad consequence of our Irish hospitality, to which many men must chiefly impute that absolute negligence of their domestic affairs, and that terrible excuse for it, an incapacity to regulate them by their ove-running their income, to satisfy the craving wants of an elegant way of living. Nourishing this fatal pride of politeness, and an high relish of these false and contemptible pleasures, produces an utter scorn of the little views of a mean spi-

rited œconomy, that is apt to descend to watch over the safety and ease of ourselves and our posterity, and by setting men above such trivial precautions, opens the floodgates for that preposterous expence, which alone can make the ruin of an house ridiculous in the thoughts and eyes of honest men. But besides these ill consequences, it has one, if possible, rather worse, and that is breeding up a useless dependance of trencher flies, feeding the idle, and the lazy, and encouraging voluptuousness, disorder and intemperance, which as naturally breed vermin in the state, as heat and dirt and ease do in the body. Whereas were our people used to earn their food before they eat it, and every one laid under a necessity of being industrious that deserved to enjoy plenty, and good cheer, it would have cured many of their indolence and idleness, and put them on methods of industry, instead of fawning and waiting like dogs on other mens tables. I think Sir William Petty, in his *verbum sapienti*, proposed a fund for the Dutch war, to be raised from the people working one twentieth part more than they did, and eating one twentieth part less, *viz.* fasting on Friday nights; but how oddly soever his proposal appears I dare undertake if the superfluous expence of our useless dishes and dainties were laid out in manufactures, or encouraging trade, we should find a great alteration in our affairs. Though we would not wish for such sumptuary laws as the Dutch have laid on this kind of luxury, where one cannot have a dish of choice, well dressed fish at a tavern, without paying at least thirty excises for it, yet possibly if our excesses this way were taxed, and people's vanity in their table, and entertainments restrained to their

fortunes and circumstances, and their excesses made subject to proper fines, it would be of great advantage to the public. It is evident that whatever could be cut off thus from our luxurious way of living, would be so much clear gains saved to our national wealth, and without disgusting the generous spirits of our high feeders, with the calculations of some political arithmeticians on this subject, I shall only desire such as incline to think on the manners and management of our people, to consider what the general parsimony of the Dutch, this way is supposed to save them; when they have cast up that, let them compute what immense sums it must necessarily stand us in to continue our ridiculous extravagances, and luxurious feeding, and feasting, and consider what sort of people we must appear to be, who like the silly crew in Ulysses's ship are ready to sacrifice our country, and its interest to a little senseless pleasure, and till the legislature prevents it, will I fear ever do so. While the tenderness of our laws winks at such things, every man should supply that defect by the most exact care in his own family and government, and by retrenching the number of superfluous dishes, and that waste of food and viands which is found on our tables, and endeavour in his narrow sphere, to suppress, all he can, the miserable luxury of the rich, and enliven, by the same method, the honest industry of the poor. If every one would do thus, there would be no occasion for fines or excuses, but without that I fear our people will not be cured of their luxury but as the confectioner's apprentice was of his love to sweet meats, *viz.* by surfeiting on them till he died.

But I hasten to another Resolution, which it is incumbent on us to lay down, and that is,

We resolve as fathers and masters of families, to educate our children in such a manner as shall make them most useful in their generation and serviceable to their country.

Without a right education there is no hope of softening our manners or improving our minds and laying lasting foundations for wisdom and virtue, without which, men degenerate from the great ends of their creation, and sink themselves below the beasts of the field. It should therefore be one of the chief cares of our lives, to give our children the best we can, not in the vain hope to make them the finest and most accomplished gentlemen of their age, but as good and wise and useful as possible. And one great cause of that love of our country which runs through all, proceeds from the stiong impressions, which we receive from having spent our youth, and consequently some of the brightest and liveliest hours of our lives there, I think it absolutely necessary, that, to make such impressions as lasting and durable as possible, the scene of our education should always be laid and continued here as long as we can. We have a great many very large and generous foundations for public schools, and as most of them are filled with very able and diligent masters, we may truly boast they have not been built in vain, though a certain prolific scribler of epic poems has been pleased to say so. There are however some great mistakes in our methods of education, that we should endeavour to avoid; the first is, that there

is little more minded in most of our schools than teaching the languages, and in a tedious manner too; without a due care of instilling into boys minds the noble maxims and sentiments perpetually to be met with in the classic poets, which yet if they were duly pointed out, and fully enlarged on and enforced, whensoever they occur, might serve for good and excellent purposes and influence the whole conduct of our lives. The great examples in the Greek and Roman orators and historians are also passed over in as slight a manner, which if skilfully set forth and recommended on all occasions, with that zeal and warmth of heart which they deserve, might serve to fire and animate young minds to copy and emulate their virtues as much as the trophies and praises of Miltiades inflamed Themistocles, to rival his glorious character of the deliverer of Greece. But boys are kept at school, merely for the languages, and nothing truly useful to the great ends of human life is inculcated there, or properly instilled into their minds, and as the great Roman philosopher complained in his time, so may we now, *non vitæ sed scholæ discimus.* Whereas boys should be educated not to know words and sounds as if they were charms and enchantments, by which, without sense or meaning they were to work miracles by being able to repeat them, and to live on the art, but to lay up in their minds the great principles of truth and honour, wisdom and virtue, the love of God and their neighbour, an honest zeal for the happiness and welfare of our country, the public peace and liberty, and above all, for our holy religion and the great moral duties which are its basis.

There is another great mistake which peculiarly regards the education of the sons of our noblemen and gentlemen in our schools, and that is neglecting to instruct them in the great art of speaking well and properly before a public audience.

We all know by the peculiar blessing of our constitution, the affairs of our country are entirely managed by public debates, in great assemblies, where our representatives model our laws and form all resolutions that regard the welfare of the nation. It should therefore be the first and great view of every gentleman, to endeavour to serve his country in parliament, and to discharge that sacred trust, when it is reposed in him, with the best sufficiency he can. To answer this good end, he should not content himself with voting in all debates with truth and integrity, according to the best of his judgment, but he should aim at the noble power of reasoning and speaking in so proper and forcible a manner as may influence others to think and act in the same way that he does. And yet there is so little care taken in our education, of this very important point, that between the natural modesty of most gentlemen, and the extreme negligence of parents and school masters, we see numbers of them of the greatest abilities, and the best understandings that are as unable to speak in public, as if they were tongue-tied. Whereas if they were trained up in the schools to pronounce some of the best orations in the classics, and above all some of our best English speeches, that are to be found in the histories of our parliamentary affairs and debates there, and to deliver them with due emphasis and action, with proper motion and cadence of voice, and a

full sense of the subject they speak on, it would effectually remove that girlish diffidence and bashfulness which they labour under without a possibility of shaking it off. Nay this would be of more real service and use to them than all the Greek and Latin they generally get there, for they would not only by frequently speaking thus in the school, get a becoming assurance and an habit of expressing themselves with ease and dignity on all important subjects, but by often repeating the noble sentiments, opinions and arguments of our ablest and worthiest patriots, they would get a strong taint and contract an habit of thinking and acting in the same manner, and with the same honest spirit they did.

As slight and trivial a method, as this, which we have so briefly hinted here, may seem, I dare answer for it that whoever will put it in practice, in the education of the children of our nobility and gentry, will find it of the highest service to them; and what the consequences would be to our country in the management of all public affairs, in making us the more considered, employed and regarded, and in raising our characters for ability, integrity and true merit with our neighbours in England, I leave to every gentleman's reflections, who thinks the welfare and honour of the nation worth considering.

Another fault, in our schools is, that after gentlemen send promiscuously all their sons thither, they do not choose out those who have a genius for the sciences, and remove the others to useful employments, trades and business, but the whole crowd are driven together like soldiers to a battle, where the brave and the coward must go on in the same rank together, though they flinch and fail when the trial of skill begins. This is one

of the most ridiculous affectations imaginable, that, right or wrong, our children must have Greek and Latin poured into their mouths, till they spew them out again, without the least nourishment from them. This humour prevails more in Ireland (which by its situation and circumstances might give its inhabitants other thoughts) than any other nation in Europe, and infects even the lowest and poorest of its natives. It puts me in mind of the working schools in Holland, where blind children are taught to get their bread; and certainly many of our children whom nature has no more formed for learning than she has the dumb for orators, should like them, either learn such arts and manufactures, as they are most disposed to, and fitted for, or should be employed in country business at home, or a good trade in the city. Duller boys, as we call them, may, if another turn were given them, become infinitely more useful as merchants or men of business than most of the idle crowd we call scholars, and it is mere loss of time to force all our young gentlemen thus to drudge at languages, as the Turks do at trades, which they never intend to make use of, and which when they are entered into the world they know nothing of, but that they are thrown by as unserviceable—*Senes perdenda fateri.* Where a boy that has some fortune, or is born a gentleman, has no capacity, or rather relish for such studies, let him be taken home, and if he must read books and improve his taste, as we call it, let him be put to read the translated classics, and especially the Greek and Latin historians, and some of the best of the modern and especially our own, with proper observations on them; let him be well skilled in geography and a little

astronomy and a taste at least of the civil law from Puffendorff, and if he writes a fair hand and understands arithmetic fully with this, he may be of more service to himself, his own affairs and those of his country, if he has truth and virtue, and is turned to business, than if he was master of all the Greek and Latin in it. If he turns himself with spirit to trade, or to tillage, or to carrying on great manufactures, he may be an honour and a blessing to the commonwealth, while he builds up his own fortune on the prosperity of his country, though he should not be able, or inclined, to make any advances in the sciences. This is a much better way of bestowing such young men than as subalterns in our army, or by encreasing the crowd of starving lawyers and attornies, as too many are forced by their parents to do, and often thereby for want of bread and business foment suits and differences in their country and turn in a manner common barrators, or, which is almost as bad, when they prove unfit for the college, after throwing away so many of their best years, they retreat to the country to loiter away their lives in ease and indolence, useless and listless and as very a burthen to themselves as to others.

Such of our children indeed as give evident proofs of their having a genius turned to the sciences should be highly encouraged to cultivate them, with the greatest diligence, for such men will be so far from over-loading any of the learned professions, that they will be a credit and an ornament to them, and will be fully equal to any province they undertake. It is our great happiness that we are under no temptation, and

much less a necessity to send them abroad for their education, for, God be thanked, we have at home an university with as good statutes, provisions and endowments, as most in Europe, and the numbers of learned men she had sent into the world, and who are now living among us, is the strongest proof of the sufficiency both of the tutors and education to be found there. How far indeed it is worth our while to breed such unreasonable numbers of our youth to starve as curates in the church, whose parts and application might provide infinitely better for their subsistence and their families, by employing their good sense, sobriety and industry in trade abroad, or our manufactures at home, I will not say, though I fear too many may reflect on it with sorrow hereafter, while there is so little encouragement to those, who wait at the altar to partake of the benefits, they justly, though often in vain, expect from it.

But as I propose to speak fully on these subjects hereafter, I shall dismiss them at present, to pass to another great mistake in the education of our Irish gentlemen, which I hope we shall less frequently fall into for the future, and that is sending so many of them to travel.

As generally as this custom prevails, I cannot but think it is carried too far in most countries, and above all others in Ireland, where very few that have good fortunes fail of being sent abroad, let their understandings be of what size they will. I will not say as Plato does in his twelfth book of laws, "That none should travel till they are "turned fifty and have age and experience to "profit by it;" but I am sure none should be sent abroad, that have not sound heads and strong parts, and who may therefore improve, as they

say wine does, by being exported. As no man would trade but where he had plain hopes of enriching himself and country, by the returns he should make, so methinks, we should send none to travel, that have not almost a certainty of growing wiser, and more serviceable to themselves and the community by their rambles among foreigners. It is our great misfortune, that many of our gentlemen, when they have once got this turn, are very apt to forget the way home, and indeed as it was God's judgment upon Cain, to make him wander all his life from his native soil, so one would think this poor island had some of his descendants in it, that are often banished from it in this manner, without a thought of returning. I do not deny but where men have abilities, travelling opens their views and enlarges the mind, but I fear we are much better with narrow minds, than such as will make our houses and even our country too little for us, to say nothing of our churches, which travelling, I doubt, as we manage it, does not help to crowd. It is certain it oftener hurts than does service to Ireland, and that many of our gentlemen bring home with them a scorn for our poverty and obscurity, nay for our soil and climate, and have frequently like the Jews an hankering after the delicious leeks and onions of Egypt where they sojourned. Yet after all people have got such prepossessions in favour of it, that young men think it is the next step they are to make into the world after learning to speak a little bad French, and to dance a minuet. It is certain those who can look through the outsides of things, know there is generally little more in it, as to many of our modern knight errants, than just to say with truth, that they have been at

such a place, they saw such a rarity, they conversed with such a man, or had such an adventure on such an occasion, but as for any real improvement, it is as surprizing when it happens, as the Jews quitting Egypt loaded with the spoils they had got there. We have several instances, however, of gentlemen, who have returned from abroad to the great advantage and service of their country, as well as their own improvement, and have brought with them such useful observations on the laws, tillage, trade, manufactures and mechanical arts of foreigners, as have proved of the greatest service to their fellow citizens and countrymen. If we had such returns often made us, instead of lame accounts of palaces and fortifications, which every one knows, or fine shows and curiosities to be met with in every book of travels, or little histories of singers and music, fidlers and eunuchs, which our ears are bothered with, we should find fewer enemies to travelling than we do. Till then I fancy Ireland will find their account much more in keeping her sons at home to assist her, than in sending them abroad, to ruin her, which is grown so frequent of late, that one would think they believed it a service to her, and quit their country, as men do a leaky vessel, which will be the longer in sinking, the sooner they lighten it by removing themselves and goods out of it.

But I shall not enlarge further on this subject, and hope the reader will forgive me, if I tack to these hints on the education of our children, a just complaint as to their fortunes, of that cruel and unreasonable custom, which is so general in these three kingdoms, of settling the whole of our real estates on the eldest son. By this means it frequently happens that the worst, and least

deserving of our children, riots and revels in an overgrown fortune (and what is a very great aggravation of the evil is thereby tempted to spend it abroad,) while many younger sons, and daughters are left in the poorest, and lowest circumstances.

There are none who cannot recollect many living instances of this kind, both as to the merits, and distress of the younger children, in many families, and as pride alone is the sole foundation for so unnatural, and cruel a treatment of our own flesh and blood; surely it is to be wished that all settlements at marriage, should be restrained herein by law, and that where there is a numerous issue, the payment of their fortunes, and maintenance, should be made more easy, and secure to them, and one third at least of the whole, should be constantly reserved, to prevent their falling into want and misery, and to afford them some reasonable foundation for industry to build on.

The last RESOLUTION *which seems proper for us to lay down for our conduct, as masters of families, is this, that as to our servants, we will endeavour to the best of our power, to keep such as are more for use and necessary employments, than figure and show.*

Though I look on an honest, and faithful servant, as a valuable and worthy creature; and think we should use such, but as humble friends, yet in general, servants are grown so great a plague, and incumbrance on house-keepers, that I believe, as Squire Slender says in the merry Wives of Windsor, we shall be forced at last to wait on ourselves. The complaints of

them are endless, they have raised their wages to double what they were, and they seem resolved not to do half so much for them as formerly. They agree as regularly for their diet, that they shall have tea, and be fed so and so, as if they gave us a large allowance for it, and when our friends dine with us, they wait as regularly to be paid for the treat, as drawers at a tavern, and make our houses pass with men of sense for little better. As for their clothes, I will not say many of them wear as good as their masters, and if some of them are so unfortunate as to be forced to wear a livery, they stoop to it very reluctantly, with a firm resolution to get rid of that mark of bondage as fast as they can. With all this they are generally excessively idle, and if they are ordered to do any thing that is not directly their business, will make no scruple to dispute, or at least neglect it; indeed we ourselves have corrupted them, and if we do not resolve to remedy matters in time, and reform them by proper laws, we shall find ourselves very soon in as uneasy a situation, with these middle sort of gentry, as they are in England. There things are come to that pass, that it is generally said they would gladly make an act of parliament, to regulate them, but that really, and in fact they dare not venture on disobliging so great a body, who have formed themselves into a society governed by laws of their own, for the suppressing and curbing the insolences, and rudeness of their masters. It is one of our Saviour's menaces, that a man's foes shall be those of his own household, and certainly it never was more accomplished than in these times, when servants are so excessively paid for being so useless and debauched, and at

the same time such complete masters of their business, that they can cheat us, when they think fit, and obey us only when they judge it reasonable. As their diet and their clothes, their vales, and their wages, are the great cause of their making us so uneasy, we must pull down their insolence, by reducing them as near their old standard as we can, if we desire to see them mended, or our houses in some tolerable regulalation. But there is another great article concerning them, that calls loudly for reformation, and that is their number, for that is one great cause of their mis-behaviour and the great refuge and defence of all the seditions and rebellions, in the dregs of the people. We keep many of them in our houses, as we do our plate on our sideboards, more for show than for use, and rather to let people see that we have them than that we have any occasion for them. Because people of quality are forced to pay this tax for their title, our gentlemen very freely pay it for their pride, and that they may not be out of the fashion, of living beyond their income; but till it is altered we shall never be right at ease in our own houses, or those of our friends. The Dutch, have wisely prevented this in their well governed state, where each master pays about three shillings annually to the government for every servant he keeps, but if ever we think of such a law, I would humbly propose that the tax, may rise in proportion, to the number we give wages to, as the value of a diamond does by the carats which it weighs, and this would be the most effectual restraint on this silly affectation of grandeur. I dwell on this point the more, not only as it affects the ease of private families, but as it has a terrible influence on the

public too, for by the best computation I can make, there cannot be less than ten thousand men and maid servants employed, (I should say hired) whom we have no sort of occasion for. As our poor people do not love labour, they squeeze into houses, for an easy indolent life, where they may feed and lie well, and do nothing, and as our gentry love show, and state, they seem to hire them with no other view, but to get their assistance in spending their fortunes. In short we shall find this superfluity of idle, and insolent slaves, calls for a speedy remedy from ourselves, or the severest tax from the legislature, a tax which no one could repine at, and which would restore a vast number of our best hands to our labour, and yet raise an abundant fund to encourage many manufactures, which we want, and which the collectors of the hearth money might raise, without the least additional expence to the kingdom.

There is great deal more to be said on this matter, when there shall be some hope of doing good by it, but in the mean time we must content ourselves with resolving to regulate our own houses herein, as far as we can; and I shall now take notice of another sort of servants, which are as useful as the others are useless, and that is such as are employed in our labour and husbandry.

Not that these too are not apt enough to be idle and lazy, when they are not well looked to, but as the care of a good overseer and a little help of the eye of the master, does easily remedy this, it need only be said that such an one must ever be had, one skilled in English husbandry, and if possibly one from England can be got, it will be so much the better. A sufficient

number of cotters for constant work, residing on our own farms, should ever be kept by all gentlemen, who incline to make improvements, not only as there is no depending on casual helps from independent labourers, but also as those who are trained up by ourselves, will work infinitely better, and be much handier in all sorts of business than strangers.

If a proper method could be found to hinder the rambling of such people in harvest time, not only from country to country, but from kingdom to kingdom, it would both prevent a great annual loss of their labour to this nation, and also of many hands which (I speak from experence) never return to us, and it would also be a remedy for some evil consequences at home, which I think are better understood than mentioned; all I shall add to this subject of country gentlemen's servants, is that it would be of great importance, if the fashion of keeping their maids busy at their spinning, were more universally followed than it is. For the example of our gentry herein would have a great influence on their tenants and neighbours, and they would not only spin finer webs thereby (all which would be clear money saved to the nation as well as the family,) but gentlemen would by this means, train up the young ladies, their children, to love and understand, and carry on our manufactures. This would be of vast serviee to them, and their children, and our country hereafter, and as several ladies of the best families in Ireland, have generously began to practice this, and recommended it to others by their example, so certainly it will be copied by all who have a rational scorn of being useless, and spending their

mornings in pinning and dressing, in order to waste the evenings in visits, or prattle at cards, coffee and tea. With the best persons and understandings of any nation in Europe, it is surprizing what perfect cyphers our ladies in these three nations, generally make themselves (or rather the wrong turn of their education makes them) in their families. If instead of trifling away their youth between assemblies, music meetings, ridottos, seeing of plays, and reading romances and novels, playing at quadrille, and living as it were in a perpetual visit, they would make themselves completely skilled in arithmetic, and housewifery, and equally well acquainted with history, and embroidery, and all the manage of the wheel, and the loom, they would not only like the ladies in Holland, govern, and deserve to govern their children and families, but even their estates and affairs, and I could almost say the very interests of their country. In Queen Mary's time, her example made all the ladies fond of the character of being great workwomen, and then embroidery and knotting were the fashion, to that degree, that they used to take their work to their visits. It were to be wished our young ladies would think their good grandmothers worth copying after in this matter, or at least as they are fonder of following French fashions in other things, that they would imitate them in this good one, which is so general there, that both the court ladies, and the merchants, and rich citizens wives, when they visit their friends, carry their little embroidery frames and even their little spinning wheels and rocks with them, that they may not quite throw away the time which they spend abroad.

And thus having dispatched what we proposed to say on this article, as masters of families, let us now go on to consider ourselves in another circumstance of life, where numbers among us must have no inconsiderable influence, and that is as Protestant gentlemen, and as such we should lay down the first RESOLUTION for our conduct.

That we will as Protestant gentlemen in Ireland, do all in our power to bring over our countrymen from the delusions, and ignorance, which they are kept in by their Popish priests, as the greatest cause of their misery.

It is but too well known to the world, and too much felt by ourselves, that this poor kingdom is divided, or rather torn in pieces, by two religions, and which is ever the consequence of the other, into opposite factions in the state. It is true the terrible contests that arose from hence, and which, after spilling oceans of blood, laid waste our country, are, I hope, pretty well over, and humanly speaking, can never disturb us more; for though there is a superiority of one side, as to numbers, yet the advantages of arms, strength and power, is so entirely on the other, that there is not the remotest prospect of danger from that quarter. However it is certain that our continuing thus divided, has very mischievous consequences to the kingdom in general, as it lessens our natural weight and strength, and makes us as spiritless and unactive, as a paralytic body when one half of it is dead, or just dragged about by the other. It often puts me in mind of the poor Italian in London who had

a little twin brother that grew out of his breast, whom he carefully nourished and cherished, being sensible that when his brother died, he could not long survive him, and I have often considered the Catholics and Protestants in Ireland, in this light, who are as closely united, and must as inevitably flourish and decay together. With the utmost regard to the welfare and general good of Ireland, I must say, that while our religious differences subsist here, (at least on the foot they now stand) we can never be a thriving or an happy people, and that therefore till the state thinks fit to interpose further than they have yet done, and order proper methods for converting the poor natives, every Protestant gentleman should use his endeavours to that good end, by his influence and authority, by familiarity and favour, by persuasion and reasoning, and where they can read, by dispersing proper books and tracts among them.

I am sure I am influenced herein by no party zeal, or blind bigotry to my own opinion and persuasion in religious matters, but by a sincere benevolence and good-will to my unfortunate countrymen and a tender sense of those miseries, which a wrong turn in faith and politics have drawn on them. I remember to have read in some history, or traveller's account of Persia, that the chief reason which made that kingdom so flourishing and populous, was an article in the religion of their Magi, that the three actions a man should perform to render himself agreeable to God were to get children, manure his land, and plant trees. I will only say if our good Catholics here would lay aside some of the terrible articles of their faith, and above all that infernal one of being obliged in conscience to persecute

heretics with fire and sword, and take up this in their room, they and their country would gain considerably by the change. But however that be, an union in religion, is a matter of infinite importance on many accounts, abstracted from all religious considerations or the wickedness of their principles. What I shall chiefly insist on here is this plain fact, that it is the Popish religion that is the chief occasion of most of the poverty, idleness, misfortune, and misery which too many of our people languish under.

I shall urge several things to shew the truth of this, and when I have done that, I shall give several reasons why it is our interest to aim at opening our countrymen's eyes, and why I hope their eyes will actually be opened in time, if our gentlemen use their endeavours to that end.

And first then our people are impoverished by the great sums, which are paid by them more punctually than their rents to the maintenance of so many priests, friars, monasteries, &c. bishops and arch-bishops. The money spent this way is computed so high, and those who live on it are so numerous, that it is a tax sufficient in itself to keep many families in ease and plenty. And indeed if we consider that at least three fourths of our people pay subsidies of this kind, we may easily conceive how those *(torrenti de pecuniæ)* torrents of money are raised, which Cardinal Palavicini in his history of the Council of Trent, l. 4. c. 5. says, "are so necessary to support the "state and grandeur of the spiritual monarchy "of Rome."

The educating numbers of our people abroad in colleges, monasteries and nunneries in Popish countries, as well as pious legacies sent thither, and alms and contributions given to foreign

seminaries, do also waste a large sum. By this means our wealth is not only annually drained off, but our numbers lessened. For as the Irish are not naturally fond of labour, crowds of them waste their time and substance as poor scholars to qualify them for the laziest kind of life, and hardly ever return to the plough or the spade, but continue to the nation's loss in their miserable sloth and laziness.

Pilgrimages and penances, confessions, absolutions, pardons, dispensations, indulgences, do also cost our good Catholics abundance of their money as well as a good deal of their time, which equally contribute to keep them low spirited and indigent, superstitious and idle. But this is not the worst, for it is certain that our priests with their old thirst for the blood of heretics, were the chief authors of the dreadful rebellion and horrid murders in 1641, which swept away near two hundred thousand souls, destroyed our houses and towns, and have kept us to this day without pence, or people, or trade; whereas had the happy condition Ireland was then in continued till now, we should have been one of the most thriving nations in Europe. I am sorry to say, that the guilt of the Popish priests herein is too confessed and evident to want any proofs, for the world has seen it most fully and undeniably charged on them in a number of histories and memoirs of those times, and I believe no Papist who has read them can doubt of this fact. And indeed the encomiums given by Pope Urban the VIIIth's Bull (dated May 17, 1642) to those murderers of heretics, is in itself so glaring an evidence of this miserable truth, that there is no occasion to dwell on a thousand others, which can be produced for it.

It is as certain, that they had also a great hand in all the troubles of 1688, and the slaughters and ravage, and burning of houses, that it occasioned; and though both these fatal events tumbled like ill contrived mines on their own heads, who set them on fire, and proved an encrease of the Protestant interest, yet the nation has not yet recovered the loss of blood and spirits occasioned thereby.

Our priests and the Popish religion are also a great occasion of the idleness and poverty of the Irish by the number of foolish holydays, which they oblige them to observe. Betwixt this wicked custom (for it deserves no other name) and the bad weather of our climate, which so frequently interrupts our labour in these parts of the earth, I verily believe one third of our time is not only rendered useless, but spent in a lazy, listless way, that makes our people less inclined and indeed less able to work the rest of the week. Sir William Petty computes that they keep twenty-four days in the year more than the Protestants, and allowing six hundred thousand working Papists here, makes the national loss thereby 250,000*l*. *per Ann.* and proves that the Protestants work a tenth part more yearly than the Papists. Mr. Dobbs in his ingenious essay on our trade has computed it much higher, and I think with reason makes our loss amount to 325,000*l*. which as labour and riches are but different names for the same thing, is a mismanagement that cries to heaven for vengeance on those, who thus keep so many poor families starving and idle, and what is worse, indispose them to labour, when the holy-day and their loitering or debauchery are over.

Sure I am however necessary it might have been in the primitive times, to bring over the Gentiles, to keep many of our saints days, by making them times of diversion, it is now most necessary for our legislature to watch better over the industry of our people, by making it penal to drink or idle on many of their festivals, when it is plainly sporting with the nation's ruin.

There is another charge to be laid at the door of Popery as the occasion of the misery and poverty of our Irish natives, and that is the strict observing of lent among them.

Of all the nations under heaven, there is not one where the keeping lent is, I will not say so unreasonable, but so destructive as in this island. In the warmer climates, where it first began, it usually falls on that time of the year, when the fields and the gardens begin to supply food plentifully to the poor, but in our northern regions there is nothing but bread or a very little milk to sustain them. I speak of nations who are able to take care to provide bread, for often with us lent is not only a time of fast, but of famine, and it does not only rob us of the labour of the poor, by making them unable to work, but it hurts the health of those who have good constitutions, and occasions the death of numbers of the sickly, who are superstitious in their minds, in proportion to the weakness of their bodies. In other countries indeed they are allowed flesh meat and such nourishing food in these cases, when they pay for the licence, but alas! with us, however they manage for their souls, as to masses when dead, our poor people have not money enough to reprieve their bodies when they are ill, and lent generally carries off crowds of them, by their being unable to pay those, who

thus actually make a market of their religion. What is more grievous than to see our poor Irish fed on very bad flesh seven eighths of the year, and in lent perfectly famished, in order (to be sure) to pull down their pampered bodies, and keep them in subjection to their better part? In the working time of the year, for ploughing, threshing and gardens, I have seen numbers of them hardly able to labour, or even to live to enjoy the fruits of it. It puts one in mind of the French ambassador's account of Sweden, that it was a perpetual winter there, of frost and snow, for nine months of the year, and there was no bearing the cold and ill weather for the other three. In a word, they are so hungry and starved in this dreadful time of lent, that I have heard a good Catholic wish, that they were allowed, by their priests, to eat the kites and hawks, rooks and crows, &c. in that season, and all destructive animals, as foxes, &c. and that it would be the best way to make all of them as rare as eagles or wolves. But it is too melancholy a subject to enlarge on, and therefore I shall leave it to their reflections who are best able to remedy those crying evils, and shall proceed to a more agreeable one, namely, why, abstractedly from the views of religion, it is our interest, as a nation, to endeavour to open our countrymen's eyes. I shall speak to this, because I see too many who are quite indifferent in the matter, as if it were an affair hardly deserving their thoughts, and merely to be left to the slow operation of our laws. Many among us are also apt to consider our natives as not worth their regard; but as meanly as they think of the poor Irish, the uniting them to our church, is of vast

importance, if we only consider their number. They are at least three fourths of our people, and as they have a general custom (which has been of vast service to repair the great losses in this island by war, &c.) of marrying very early, and consequently breeding very fast, and as the Protestants do not follow their example, in either of these particulars, they will possibly, in half a century, out-number us much more. But again it is to be considered, that Ireland suffers exceedingly by our religious differences, not only by the vast sums which are drained from us by this means, but as we are in the condition of a divided house, and are thereby ever in danger of intestine ruin and fatal dissentions, and this as we observed before (besides other arguments which are better passed over) lessens our natural weight and value as a nation. Let us add to this, that the Popish clergy are a very numerous and idle body of men, which would be all turned to trade or labour (and besides saving their salaries) would thereby, were we united in our religion, be a great additional gain to a country, where there are too many idle and useless hands already. In the next place, it is through the hands of the native Irish that the bulk of our trade passes, and consequently it were for many reasons greatly to be wished, that they had the same affections and interest with their Protestant brethren, whom, as well as their country, by this means, they have, on many emergencies, a great power to hurt, or to serve, as they stand inclined to them. With all these and many other advantages, which I shall not dwell on, it must be owned, that our native Irish are in their persons extremely well bodied and limbed, and as to their tempers remarkably

hospitable and good natured, when the leven of Popery does not sour their natural disposition; they are fond of living in their own country and averse to our American rambles, and in a word, both as to their morals and bodies are as fit for and as well deserving cultivation (and if due care be taken of them) as capable of being good husbandmen, soldiers, sailors, artisans, merchants, and scholars, as most nations in Europe. After I have said this in their favour, I shall now go on with pleasure to hint several reasons, why in all probability we may hope to deliver our countrymen from that great source of their misery, the delusions and ignorance, which their priests have kept them in.

And first, this we may truly say, that they are every day less violent for their opinions, and less bigotted to them, than they used to be. And indeed they are generally addicted to the Popish religion, not from the force of opinions and doctrines, which their priests themselves understand not, and therefore cannot teach them, but from the strength of long habit and custom. Living so long among Protestants, and conversing more with them, than most Papists do in other countries, has introduced a sort of reformation among them, and from hence it comes that they are so far from being idolaters, that they have hardly any images among them. They think more charitably of the salvation of Protestants, and more slightly of the Pope's authority, his power to depose princes, and his infallibility in matters of faith, and they read our translations of the Bible, and our books wrote against their errors, more generally and impartially, than any other body of Catholics.

These, with several other articles of the like

nature, give us good grounds to hope well of them; but what still affords great reason for such expectations, is that numbers of them see evidently that their contending for a Popish prince and interest in Ireland, is vain and senseless, and that their mighty zeal that way, has been as silly and ridiculous, as those parties among their ancestors, who used to cry Cromaboo, and Butleraboo, and wisely sacrificed their lives to the quarrels between the Kildare and Ormond families. And indeed as it is a grief to consider how they have been mislead into such contentions, by furious priests and zealots, so it is matter of astonishment to think, that any should continue capable of being misled in this manner, and believe as their forefathers did, that they will be damned if they be not so misled.

But generally all our Irish Catholics who read the histories of their rebellions, especially from Tyrone's in Queen Elizabeth's time, till the Revolution in 1688, and reflect on the almost infinite number, who madly sunk their families and fortunes with them, have got juster notions of those matters. They see how they were made tools to the ambition, and not (the pretended cause) the religion of others, who, if they had succeeded in their rebellions, after murdering and destroying each other, in contending for their old titles and districts, would have made the residue of the Irish tenfold greater slaves, than ever they could have been under the English Protestants, and yet they perceive that to such leaders, and religious pretences, and to bring such servitude on themselves, they sacrificed their blood and their substance, and their being, as a people, and a nation. Who can read

of the vast shoals who perished by fire and sword in those wars, and by merciless famine in woods and fastnesses, and wild mountains, (where many fed on human carcases, and others died with grass in their mouths) in the cause of a barbarous O'Neal, or to follow a Desmond, an O'Connor, or O'Reyly, or some such Catholic head of an eminent clan of ruffians and robbers, or to help a king of Spain, or a Popish king of England, without being astonished at the madness of such conduct, in the old septs of the Irish, who thus perished, for the most senseless attachments and prejudices. The blood they have lost, and forfeitures of their liberties and lands, as well as the miseries many of them have suffered from thence, have at last and with great difficulty cured most of them of that political and religious madness, and have probably left few who would lose an acre in so senseless a quarrel.

But besides this, our poor Catholics, who are illiterate, and know little of such matters, and the ill consequences of their ancestors' weak conduct, yet are sensible of the hardships, which their priests and Popery bring on them otherwise. Though they cannot see, they can feel, and as their spiritual taxes are numerous, and, in proportion to their small substance, sufficiently heavy, so these poor sheep perceive how they are fleeced, and how by their confessions, absolutions, &c. the priests live and fatten, and in the words of Hosea, "eat up the sins of the people." These greatly help to keep the poor natives so low, being fed with wretched scraps and cloathed with rags; numbers of them going bare-legged and barefooted, or at best wearing brogues, (as they call their shoes) so wretched and vile, they are little better than the wooden shoes of France,

or those of the peasants in Spain, where they are made entirely of mere packthread. Their severe lents do also sit sour on their stomachs, and make themselves in this respect, (as they really are) worse circumstanced than the beasts of the field; and as they see the freedom and liberty, the ease and privileges enjoyed by those who have shaken this yoke off their shoulders, they cannot but reflect with uneasiness on the difference, and consider how reasonably and honestly, as men and as Christians, they can enjoy them all, by throwing off their ghostly tyrants and slavery together.

Nor is this all, for as the old affectation of speaking only Irish is quite laid aside, there is now scarce one in twenty who does not understand and speak English well, and by breaking down this great partition wall that kept us estranged and divided, they are grown more free and familiar with us, and (which is the greatest cement of friendship betwixt men and nations) are brought to like and know our customs, manners, and habits, better than their own. It is remarkable of those among them, who by handicraft arts, manufactures, or trade, are in a thriving condition, that they run fast into the neatness and plenty of the English way of living; and as not a few of them are employed that way, many thousands of our merchants and mechanics being Papists, they grow more moderate in their opinions of Protestants, and as they prefer our manners, language, and fashions to their own, they seem not unlikely to go a step further, and embrace our religion also.

But the chief encouragement to hope for this great change in them is, that the greatest part of their gentlemen, who are either distinguished for

their understanding or fortune, have actually come over to our church, and renounced the errors of that of Rome. Since the year 1703, when the act to prevent the further growth of Popery passed, about a thousand persons (not a few of whom are possessed of considerable fortunes) have declared themselves converts, with all the necessary forms and conditions required; and, as in reason and charity we are to think them sincere, yet, at worst, if some are not, their children or grand-children will certainly be so; and, in the mean time, the frequency of the example is the highest encouragement for others to follow them.

It is usual in most nations, when the men of family and fortune, as well as learning and sense, embrace any party, that the lower people are apt to go after them; but this is to be expected from our natives above all others, as being the most addicted to follow their great lords and gentlemen of distinction, of any in the Christian world. With these advantages therefore if our Protestant gentlemen join their endeavours, we may well hope for this happy union of opinions and interests, and as we can, when we will put our laws in execution, to assist us herein, we seem rather to be ignorant when it should be done, than how. If once the popish clergy were as universally removed as the Hugonot ministers are in France, we should soon see our churches filled with converts as much as theirs; and, as they are already sentenced, by our laws, as civil enemies to our constitution and country, so nothing but the executing those laws, and providing for the instruction of the Irish, can perfectly heal the wounds and maims of our divided nation. I can by no means think our laws are chargeable with a persecuting spirit in this

matter of the popish clergy; nor do I think there is a nation under heaven, which would have borne with them so long with such gentleness and lenity, under such dreadful provocations, and their attempting so often by massacres and rebellions to overturn our constitution, and make but one grave for our laws and our people. However, it is probable, from a mutual weariness of jealousies and fears, as well as the mildness and indulgence of our government, and our abhoring any appearance of persecution, that the conversion of the Irish will be left to time, and the influence of truth and reason joined with the examples of their gentry, unless the madness and insolence of their priests in keeping up disaffection, and combining with our enemies, force us to rouse our laws, and awake the sleeping lion, and particularly as to their spiritual governors, the titular bishops and archbishops, who are the chief authors and fomenters of all mischief to the state from religion or politics. Possibly, if only these last were effectually removed, and their church government by that means subverted, and their priests left at large to themselves, they would save us all further trouble, and finish this work for us with the assistance of charity schools, and a body of itinerant clergy to preach to the natives in Irish. But if ever this expedient be made use of, it would be very proper to abolish all payment of any dues, offerings, or fees from the poor Papists to their priests, and to settle salaries for them, payable by the government, as the Protestant ministers in Holland, whose interests and inclinations would thus be closely tied to those of the state, and consequently they might be managed like cannons, whose mouths are still pointed just as they please

who fill their bellies. It must be confessed in favour of this, or any such method, that our people are more docile, and less obstinate and violent in their natural disposition, than either the Scotch or Welsh, and consequently, had the danger been as near, and by that means the same care and application used to convert the Irish, which we know took place in Wales and Scotland, we should long since have seen all religious differences, and the terrible wars, massacres, &c. that flowed from them, prevented in Ireland. Nay, had not Charles II. in compliance with the Duke of York, and in kindness to his beloved fellow Catholics, repealed the pecuniary mulcts established by law under Cromwell, on all Papists, who absented from our churches; but that those wholesome discouragements to Popery had continued till this day, we should have few Popish families unconverted now, and possibly the religious wars in 1688 had been prevented, and ten millions saved to England, which the reducing of Ireland cost them at that time. But without enquiring, for several probable reasons, why such care has not been taken herein as we could have wished, it is our business at present to make the best use we can of all proper means and measures to open the eyes of our poor fellow Catholics, which are blinded by the delusions of their priests, and to let them see that their temporal and eternal happiness are equally concerned in coming over to our church, and joining with one hand, and heart, and voice, for the prosperity of Ireland, which nothing but our religious wars and animosities could have sunk so low as we have often seen it.

Let us now consider ourselves in another situ-

ation in which the welfare of our country, and the bulk of its gentry, are deeply interested, and that is, as descended from British ancestors, and in this light it seems highly reasonable that we should lay down this RESOLUTION, *viz.*

We will ever sincerely wish for, consult, and promote the happiness and welfare of Great Britain as our common parent.

There is no one distinction which we are, or indeed ought to be, fonder of than that of Englishmen, and the more, as it is a badge of those privileges and liberties which are utterly unknown to the rest of the world. How far it is either just or wise to discourage or annihilate our claim, I shall not say, but I am sorry it is easier to make it good by the herald's books than the laws of Great Britain at present. It cannot but seem hard to be used and considered as aliens by those, who, by rewards and favours, persuaded numbers of our people now living, or their ancestors, to come over hither, and spend their blood in their service to extend their empire, commerce, and power. Shall not even their descendants as justly claim the privilege of Englishmen as do the children of ambassadors, who were born in the most distant kingdoms, where their fathers remained in the service of their prince and their country? And may not the children of those Englishmen, who have planted in our colonies in America, bē as justly reckoned Indians and savages, as such families, who are settled here, can be considered and treated as mere Irishmen and aliens? May not our parents as well renounce us when once they have sent us into the world, and that we leave their houses as birds do their

young, once they quit the nest where they were hatched, when they have done feeding them? Are we not therefore, in the truest sense of the word, Englishmen, as well as English subjects; and are we not sprung from the same original houses, lineage, and blood with themselves? Have we not the same prince, church, laws, and constitution, derived to us from our forefathers, and have we not (the great cements of national friendships) the same principles, affections, and interests in religion and government, and have we not spent our blood as freely, like true Britons, when, and wherever those noble calls invited us, and the glory and service of Great Britain wanted our assistance? Does the crossing the Severn or the Tweed make any difference in the circumstances of a Briton, and shall the crossing of our channel occasion so great an one, though merely for the interest and in the service of Great Britain? The old brave Romans often, in any distress of the state, made their slaves freemen, and sent them to their wars, and shall the only nation in the world, in whom a little of the Roman spirit still survives, make their freemen slaves, if they once embark in their service in Ireland? Let the good nature and probity of Great Britain answer this, and let us content ourselves in the mean time with resolving ever to desire and further the prosperity of a nation from which we are directly descended, and whose friends and enemies must ever be ours.

We are so closely knit to them by all the ties of alliance, and both by national and domestic charities, that our interests must inevitably be the same, it being a truth England ever has, and ever will feel and know, that as we grow wealthy, our riches will centre with her; and when we

turn bankrupts she must set us up again, or maintain us.

Lastly, as the interest and power of Ireland is solely in Protestant hands, we must therefore ever regard her, not only as our *paries proximus*, our nearest neighbour, still ready to assist us, but as our true parent and protector, on whose prosperity our own immediately depends, who must wound herself whenever, through inadvertence, she hurts us; and must in interest, as well as justice, take care not to sacrifice the ease and welfare of the younger child to the grandeur and splendor of the eldest.

Let us therefore in the next place lay down this RESOLUTION, as equally prudent and generous, *viz.*

That we will be so true to ourselves as never to hurt the trade or interest of Great Britain.

To think of making Ireland rival England in her trade, and above all, her woollen trade, is the highest ingratitude and baseness to those to whom we owe our very being as a Protestant people; but lest this should have little influence on us, let us also remember that it would be the rankest madness too, and would certainly end in laws that would not only defeat but undo us. Our conduct would be as ridiculous and unsuccessful as the famous Duke of Buckingham, when he was sent ambassador to France, and thought to carry all points with Lewis XIII. by making love to his queen, and by that means miscarried in every one of them. If we keep our friends in England suspicious of our conduct, it will bring us both into a very uneasy situation, and, like jealousy between married couples, must produce

bad consequences, and hurt both those who give the offence, and those who revenge it. We see how remarkably Great Britain (when under these circumstances) injured herself by the Act against the importation of our cattle, as well as in that of our woollen manufactures, and in our commerce with their plantations in America, though this last is in part removed, as to our not importing non-enumerated goods directly from thence. We must therefore endeavour to the utmost of our power to make Great Britain see we will never not only rival, but even in any sort interfere with her interest in every branch of trade that can affect her people; and as the running of our wool is one great article, which is of the last importance to her, as it enables the Dutch and the French to enrich themselves by underselling her, we should be as careful to seize and punish such vessels in our creeks as we would pirates in our ports. It is true, while large profit can be made by such vile practices, there will ever be found men, both in England and here, who will follow it as felons will rob, and steal, for the sake of the plunder, in spite of the laws. They well know how difficult they find it to suppress these smugglers on their own shores in spite of all the industry they make use of, and will therefore be the readier to make allowances for the same, and greater obstructions which we must encounter here, where our creeks are so numerous, and so many of our people interested in the success. All that they can expect from us I hope we shall comply with, and that is, that we should do our best to detect and punish them; and as our wool-combers have lately given good proof of their zeal this way, it is to be hoped we shall all join with them to suppress this pernicious clan-

destine trade as far as we can, in which the increase of our tillage and linen manufacture will further us greatly. If we can once convince Great Britain that we consider her interests as our own (which in truth and fact they are) and that we do all we ought or can, consistently with the public welfare, to further her commerce and impoverish her enemies, we may then be sure to see her distrust of us removed, and to have every restriction taken off, and concession granted us to our trade, which will prove advantageous to us, and no ways detrimental to her.

Let us now therefore proceed to another RESOLUTION, which every one must think equally reasonable, and that is this:

We resolve, as we will never forget what we owe to England, so we will ever hope that she will remember what benefit and advantage she does, or may receive, by encouraging us.

As it is to England alone we owe, that we are not absolute slaves to tyranny and popery, so we must ever acknowledge with grateful hearts, that it has cost our ancestors there an immense expence of blood and treasure to settle us in so safe and happy a situation as we now enjoy. These are obligations of the highest nature, and which will ever entitle them to the highest acknowledgments from us; and I believe few colonies under Heaven ever bore more cordial and sincere affection to the interests of its mother nation, than we have for those of Great Britain. But as the most dutiful child may be allowed to put a parent in mind of the faithful returns made for favours bestowed, and benefits conferred, so I hope it will neither look like reproach or insolence if

I give a few hints here, first of the advantages England makes at present from us, and in the next place, of the much greater ones (ten times greater than Denmark receives from her dependent kingdom Norway) she may, when she thinks proper, receive by enlarging her favours to us. Certain it is, though we are already like a rich lead-mine in the hands of England, yet if the ore were well wrought and fully refined, she might turn it all into sterling silver. Let us look over the account, and consider it carefully.—In the first place then, it is certain, by all the books and tracts I could ever meet, and the best informations I could ever get in this matter, that we carry on a much greater trade with England alone than with all other nations together, and that even our exports to them are (contrary to the exports of most nations) of infinite advantage to her trade, as being the *primums* and foundations of all her great manufactures, without which she could not carry them on effectually, and that little or nothing of our exports serve to luxury. This is one great recommendation of our trade in general, and let us, to explain it, shew several instances of this truth, without perplexing it with bundles of particulars and parcels, and filling up pages with figures and proofs, which may be found in a number of books wrote on that subject, which the reader may examine whenever he wants further information.

And 1st then, let us begin with our wool, and our woollen and worsted yarn, of which they make a very great return, by working it up to the heighth at home, and of this they have, to their gain and our great loss, the monopoly confined to themselves by laws made in England to bind Ireland, by laws made in the plenitude of

their power and our poverty, and to which, nevertheless, we shall ever submit as resignedly as if we had given our consent to them.

2dly, Our linen yarn, which they work up several ways, to considerable profit, in their linsey-wolsey and cotton stuffs, in girth-webs, tapes, tickens, inkles, in several places (as Manchester, Liverpool, &c.) in the north of England.

3dly, In the linens which they take from us, and thereby save the whole of what we gain that way, to be circulated by us among themselves, which would otherwise go out, and remain with foreigners, and often with enemies, to the enriching of them, and impoverishing Great Britain. Nor do they only save greatly hereby, but they also make a profit, equal to the prime cost, in vast quantities which they stain and print at home, which we are absolutely restrained in exporting to them in that manner.

4thly, By our ores of copper, lead, iron, &c. which they manufacture to their no small advantage; nor is their gain, or our loss, to be confined to our minerals exported to them. But they carry it yet further, for their mine companies have leases of several of our Irish mines, which they pay dead rent for, and will not suffer them to be wrought, either lest they should lessen the price of those they keep going, as the Dutch burn one half of their nutmegs to sell the remainder at the higher price, or lest in the literal sense of the proverb, "they keep too many irons in the fire."

5thly, In the hides of our black cattle, and in sheep, lamb, goat, kid, rabbit and calves skins; which they tan, dress and work up to

the employment of many thousands of families.

6thly, By our tallow, kelp, hair, feathers, and several other small articles, which they make considerable advantage of, by the labour of their people. By all the foregoing articles of our imports, they are benefited to a great degree, their commerce is extended, and their poor employed, and several of their own writers do compute them to exceed thrice the prime cost, when wrought up for the consumption of their own, or foreign nations.

They do also make a very large profit by a prodigious number of ships employed in our trade, which most compute at near 100,000l. per annum, and by trade carried on by commision here from merchants in England, a much larger sum, if we may either believe the accounts of their own writers, or ours, and the custom-house books on which they are grounded. Let us add to all this (what is the heaviest load on us,) that England gains by the expences of our constant, or occasional absentees, for health, business, pleasure, educacation, employments and pensions, &c. near 500,000l. a year, which to her great benefit and our misery, is annually remitted thither; nay it is unquestionably true, that if our exports and our profit by them were ever so much enlarged, the whole of them would flow as naturally thither as rivers to the sea.

Lastly, Great Britain has a great advantage from Ireland, as we take from her all the superfluities of her harvests or manufactures, which other nations want not, and which our convenience or luxury calls for. This is all clear gain to England, which is a circumstance no other people can plead in their favour but ourselves,

at the same time we have it also to say, that we take them off in a greater quantity (woollen goods excepted) than any other country whatever. By this means, we become one of the greatest supports to her commerce and navigation, to her colonies, and Turkey, East India, and other trading companies at home, and in a word, to the whole of her people and her strength, weight and power in the world. Sir Francis Brewster, and several others, compute that the balance gained by England in her trade with us amounts to near two millions, and though Mr. Dobbs in his essay, with great probability makes it more, yet supposing it much less, we may with truth and pleasure boast, it is more than she makes by all the other nations of the world together, and supplies all her losses by those who are her enemies or rivals, and those foreign importations which consume their wealth.

I need not mention after all this what numbers from thence are maintained by employments, pensions, commissions and preferments here; but there are two things which I think should not be lost in the crowd, namely our sea ports and our army.

The first of these while in our hands by their number and security are a refuge and safety to the ships of England (as every merchant that trades either to the Streights, East or West Indies, &c. know) both in times of peace and war; but if once possessed by an enemy, would, in case of a naval war, be of fatal consequence to the shipping and commerce of Great Britain, and of this our wars with Spain in queen Elizabeth's time, and with the Dutch after our disgrace at Chatham in Charles II. reign, and

with France in king William's days, when they saved their Smyrna fleet, are pretty plain proofs.

As to the second of them, our army, as they are a body of as well disciplined, clothed, recruited and paid troops as most in Europe, and constantly kept up in the profoundest peace, they must certainly be reckoned a matter of credit and weight to the British crown, and especially in an age, when all kingdoms (thanks to the ambition of France) are valued as much on the number of their armies, as libraries are by those of their books. They would certainly be of great use in case of an unfair enemy, or a sudden invasion or rebellion in Great Britain, for as to a rebellion in Ireland there is the greatest improbability from the disposition of our people, of seeing it employed that way.

Let us now go on to consider how much greater advantages Great Britain, may, when she pleases, receive from us by enlarging her favours to us.

And first, as to her woollen trade, it is to be observed, that the encouraging it in Ireland, would be the most effectual way to recover it out of the hands of her rivals, the Dutch and French, &c. who have got too large a share of it out of her hands. As England lost it chiefly by destroying it here, she must retrieve it by restoring it, as she lost it by her rivals under-working and under-selling her, it is plain, she must regain it by employing the Irish, who can under-sell all the world, as she lost it by the high taxes and high living of her people, which must continue, she must recal it by letting the Irish share with her in the profits, who have no taxes on their milk and potatoes, and live poorer than any manufacturers in Europe, (France not

excepted) where though wages are low, victuals are dear. If once we are encouraged, we shall run no wool to France, or Holland (or so little as can never quit costs) because it will be against the law of self-preservation, it will be robbing ourselves: and without a proper stock of wool, the French and Dutch manufactures must fall, and all they gained, will return to England, by allowing a pittance to us, which will mostly be spent there too. This is self-evident, and nothing but self-interest, and the mere self-interest of the sheep-masters, and the wool-combers and weavers in England, who must by this means lower their lands and their wages a little, and but for a little while, can silence so plain a truth, to the prejudice of the whole of England. Nay let us go farther and say even to their own prejudice, for they have only Hobson's choice, to let their lands lower, and work cheaper, till they have by our means ruined their rivals, or to go on and let the French and Dutch receive them, and sink their lands, and their labour together for ever and irretrievably.

The jealousy the English have of us is the only stop to their own prosperity, by this safe and easy method. But cannot this jealousy be remedied by confining us to such manufactures alone as their rivals under-sell them in, to such alone as they cannot retrieve themselves. By confining us to cloths of a particular breadth or fineness, to cloth, undied, to ratteens, draps, kersies, &c. to cloths but half manufactured, and which may receive their full perfection only in England, and only to be bought and used there, or exported thence by themselves. Thus the whole of the woollen manufacture will be res-

tored to the English by the cheap skill and labour, of their own fellow subjects here, who will only ask in return to have the miserable poverty of our spinners and weavers, &c. relieved by the favour of their wise and good neighbours, and to be allowed to live like moderately thriving tenants under a just and generous landlord, enriched by their toils.

Another considerable advantage which England might make by us, is by opening the plantation trade freely to us, at least as to molossus and sugar.

As these are part of the enumerated goods, we are obliged, as the law now stands, to enter and land them in England before we can land them in Ireland. This is of great prejudice to our colonies in America, in as much as to avoid the costs and danger and loss of time of two distant voyages, we sail directly to the French ports, and furnish ourselves with their brandies and sugars, without daring to meddle with those of our own colonies. It is evident, that this must hurt Great Britain, as whatever weakens her colonies, must lessen her gain by them, and as we annually, one year with another, pay above 140,000l. to the French for those commodities, which if it were not for the hardships our laws lay us under, we should give to our own colonies, it is plain this is a vast draw-back to them, and consequently to England, as it makes them less able to purchase the commodities she exports to them. But the misfortune is, that our fellow subjects do not only lose this benefit, they might make by our trade, but our old enemies the French are the gainers, and have the advantage also of buying our Irish provisions extremely cheap, and of being thereby enabled to un-

der-sell the English in the sugar trade in Europe, and the more as their colonies are allowed to refine their sugars, and export them so to all the nations which want them, whereas ours must be imported coarse and refined in Europe, with loss of time and markets, and yet which makes it still more impolitic, there are very few hands in England, who get their bread by refining them. As these are great disadvantages to Great Britain, and affect them more than us, it is hoped, we shall soon see them remedied to both our gain, and especially as we wish for this favour to be no further extended to us, (if they think fit) than as to sugar and molossus, and that too for our own consumption only, being willing to stand as we now do, as to our re-exporting them to other nations. It is allowed on all hands, that till the prohibition of our carrying non-enumerated goods without landing in England, was taken off, we were forced to pay 100,000l. per ann. to foreigners, for pitch, tar, &c. which now we lay out with our own fellow subjects, and I am confident, there would the same good consequence attend such a law, as we have been speaking of, as to enumerated goods, and especially molossus and sugar.

There are many other advantages which Great Britain might receive from Ireland, if she pleased to make use of them; but I shall pass them by, to mention the greatest and most beneficial of them all, which will also include them, and that is, to join us to them by an union.

So many of the best English patriots, as well as the best writers and judges in politics, have declared themselves publicly of this opinion, that in all probability it will be thought of, and in

earnest accomplished in due time, and especially, if by our industry and good management, we would take care to improve our people and country, and enlarge our wealth, and so bring a better portion, to drive on this political match. Nothing but the plain expediency, and benefit of an union could have made Cromwell, (who studied to please the people, where he hurt not his own interest by it) take such paces as we all know he did in this matter, and surely the day will yet come, when we shall not hang like a dead limb, on Great Britain, when we might do such good work for it, if our bandages were removed entirely. The Saxon heptarchy, was hardly a more disjointed heap of states than England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, seemed before Wales, and Scotland, were so happily united to her; and as Ireland has greatly the advantage of both the last in extent and goodness of soil, trade and number of people, it is not improbable, she will one day have the same happiness and honour. It is certain there can no objection be made against uniting Ireland, which would not be as strong against the other two, and which would not in all likelihood be as happily confuted by the success. There are too many friends to liberty, in the great assembly of the legislature in Great Britain, to let so large a body of their fellow subjects, (whose liberties are more closely, nay, necessarily united to theirs than appears to every eye) continue uncertain which is their supreme legislature, and who though subjects of Great Britain, are absolutely governed by the prince and his council, independant of the British parliament, and to make their situation perfectly odd, a people who like amphibious ani-

mals, are envied as Englishmen, in Ireland, and maligned as Irish in England. It is certain, bodies politick like natural ones, are so far strong and great as all their limbs are firmly knit and well united, and equally fed, and nourished, and while Ireland stands excluded from the favours, rights and privileges, which her fellow subjects in England, Wales, and Scotland, so happily enjoy she will naturally languish, and pine like an overshaded branch, in a great tree, and perhaps at last die for want of free air. Were we once united how vastly should we enlarge the wide foundations of England's wealth, and power, and surely there can be no ground, for being jealous of our putting in for some proportioned share of it, since there is room enough in the world for five times the commerce, we could all carry on, were our stocks and labours, thus joined by such an union. The addition of sixteen millions 800,000 acres (English measure) generally fruitful, and inhabited by two millions of people, would be no inconsiderable increase to Great Britain, but if we reflect how fully from thence all those hands would be employed, how our tillage, trade, and manufactures, would encrease in quantity and quality, and a spirit of industry, and activity enliven the whole, it will appear in every view most advantageous, and desirable to our neighbours, as well as ourselves. By such an union, as tallow, hides, beef, butter, candles, soap, &c. by taking off the prohibition would fall, not only the woollen, but all the manufactures of Great Britain would be vastly advantaged, as they could be afforded cheaper, and consequently the demand would be increased for them; and as our sailors would find little rest in our ports, so our poor would be

effectually set at work and employed, and of consequence, the power, wealth, and stock of the three kingdoms infinitely increased, and our lands, improved along with them. We should then with ease be able to pay 500,000l. per ann. to the taxes of Great Britain, beside the full support of our establishment, and how far this would assist in reducing the public debts of that nation, in times of peace, or help her to support with ease and patience, the burthen of a tedious war, is pretty evident to know her funds, and what they have borne formerly and bear now. Nor would such an union, occasion a small accession to the naval force of Great Britain, it being generally computed, that Ireland would be enabled thereby to assist her with 10,000 seamen in time of need, which must be allowed, a matter of vast importance, where the difficulty of manning a royal navy with expedition, or finding sufficient employment for sailors, in time of peace, is so well known. Were this once adjusted all the most distant fears, or even imaginations, of future wars, or rebellions in Ireland, would vanish entirely, and we then would in a few years, by a mixture of people and interests, become as entirely an English and a Protestant country also, as Wales, and be to all intents and purposes, of infinitely greater use as an island, and a trading nation. As England has already a good share of our lands, this would be an effectual method to vest the rest in her, for it is certain as our riches would chiefly return to her, so our Irish landlords would be little better than tenants to her, as she would receive the most of the profits they could gain, for allowing them the privilege of making the best of their estates by this means.

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How much better would this prove to the common good of these nations, than keeping fellow subjects and countrymen, in so doubtful a state as to government, liberty and property, than making Englishmen, who go thither aliens and foreigners, and forfeit their birthrights, than weaning us from those breasts that nursed us, and now we are grown up, by sometimes correcting us too severely for children of the family, force us to forsake our natural parents, and fly for help to the aid of strangers, with the poor labour and business, we can give them. And indeed it is amazing how so wise a nation, and so desirous to enlarge her trade as Great Britain is, should so long let this large and fertile country, lie fallow on her hands without sowing those seeds of arts, and manufactures in it, which it is so capable of bearing to great perfection. It has cost Great Britain much blood and treasure, to make us fit for such purposes, and to neglect to make a proper use of us for the increase of their trade, is as imprudent, as if a rich merchant should be at the charge and trouble of building a ship, and then let her rot in the port, rather than be at the pains of employing her. It is certain that instead of being considered as rivals, and obstacles to the English trade, this island would with due encouragements and regulations, be made a vast support and encrease to the English empire, wealth, and strength in the world, and instead of being a burthen, might greatly enlarge the bottom of her naval power, and consequently of the Protestant interest in Europe. Whenever we are so happy as to see our superiors think to purpose of such an useful settlement, we may be secure that whatever representatives are allowed us as our just proportion, or whatever limitations or res-

trictions it may be absolutely proper for the common good to tack to it, every thing will be managed agreeable to those great principles on which it is bottomed, the general advantage and welfare of the whole; and possibly we may in time see, that the union of the seven provinces has not affected the trading world more, in the last century, than the union of these three nations would in this.

I might make use of many arguments, which are to be found in different authors, to enforce the few short hints that are offered here, but those great patriots, who only can accomplish this excellent design, do in no sort want them; and to others, they would be of little use; and therefore I shall close what I shall say at present on this subject, with a quotation from Mr. Trenchard. I single out him, both because he was sent hither, by the English parliament, as one of the faithfulest and ablest of their trustees, for our forfeited estates, and also, as he is allowed to have known Ireland more, and understood its affairs better, than most gentlemen, who had no fortune or interest in it. It is from the first, in the fourth volume of Cato's letters, which he concludes with these words; " I shall sometime " hereafter consider that kingdom (Ireland) in " relation to the interest of Great Britain; and " shall only say at present, that it is too power- " ful to be treated only as a colony; and that if we " design to continue them friends, the best way " to do it, is, to imitate the example of mer- " chants and shop-keepers; that is, when their " apprentices are acquainted with their trade " and their customers, and are out of their time, " to take them into partnership, rather than let " them set up for themselves in their neighbour- " hood."

Let us now proceed to consider ourselves in another circumstance of life, which must necessarily affect the interest of this kingdom considerably, and that is as country gentlemen and farmers.

And as such we should lay down this useful and faithful RESOLUTION:

We will, with our best industry and care, endeavour to remove every obstacle to agriculture and tillage amongst us.

It is throwing away words to shew how reasonable this Resolution is, to a nation that is often perishing for want of corn, and indeed we may as well talk to a beggar of the usefulness of money, when our business is to relieve him. It is our shame and reproach that as absolutely neeessary as tillage is to our well being, we have been as careless about it, as if like the Jews, we expected manna from heaven to feed us, or trusted like the old Irish to the gathering muscles and cockles on the shore, or the hips and haws, and acorns of the woods to feed us. While other nations labour to plough and enrich even their poorest grounds, we can hardly be persuaded to break up our richest plains, which nature seems peculiarly to have designed for tillage; by not harbouring a mole in them, where often all manure is useless, and half labour would produce double the crops, which our neighbours purchase with so much expence and toil. And indeed it is miserable to consider how industriously the Swissers plough the naked sides of their mountains, and our poor neighbours as I may call them the Welsh, struggle to force a crop from their barren rocks, while many of our people leave hogs and rabbits the

first original ploughers of the earth, to turn up some of the richest grounds in the kingdom. When the Poles were once endeavouring to raise the price unreasonably of their corn on the Dutch, the states ordered their ambassador to propose to the Czar, that if he would put his subjects on tillage, they would not only buy their grain from them, but they would send over skilful husbandmen to instsuct them completely in agriculture. This proposal so alarmed the Poles, that to break off the treaty, they lowered the market, and so kept the Dutch their chapmen ever since. But I have often wished that both the Poles and the Czar had refused to deal with them, and that they would make such a bargain with us, in order to tempt us to get a little more skill and profit by ploughing up our pastures, which would yield as well as the rich ground did in our Saviour's parable. The earth indeed has done her part, but to as little purpose as the silk worms make their webs in Asia, where the indolent Turks will not put forth an hand to gather them; and much less to spin and weave them, but chuse to buy their fine wrought silks from foreigners. In some parts indeed we are better ploughmen, but generally through half the kingdom we hardly sow more than what will keep us from hand to mouth, and rather to serve the house than the market; so that as thinly peopled as we are, our poor live like Nebuchadnezar on the herbs and grass of the field one fourth part of the year, or on potatoes without bread, and for another fourth they must depend on the courtesy of foreigners, for what they please to extort from them for it, which frequently cost us (beggars as we are) 100,000*l.* per annum, or live as the old Irish used to do, and the Swedish boors often do at this day, on a mixture

of meal and bark ground together, when famine and (its constant companion which is) a dearth of money, have made us smart for our folly, we frequently plough enough to make us give a premium to the Dutch to buy our grain for half price, and then we lay the plough aside till we are forced to buy it back again at a racked rate, and so live by the loss to the next harvest. As this great mismanagement proceeds from several obstructions to our tillage, which we have long laboured under, I shall mention some of them, and then lay down a few methods in order to remove them. The first is a sort of natural aversion to the plough in our native Irish. One would think they had occasionally been yoked to it, and drawn it with their bodies, as the poor Indians used to do in Peru; but the truth is, they have got this humour from their good friends the Spaniards, whose pride and sloth they are too apt to admire and copy. I find most travellers agree in censuring the people of Spain; that they plough very little, and generally but for a mile or two near their great towns, and between want of rain and labour are every third year starving for want of bread; and begging their corn merchants the Dutch to save their lives and take their money. The learned Mr. Willoughby tells us, that in many parts of Spain they make no use of the plough, but dig the earth with iron tridents as he calls them, which is a method I find our Irish formerly practised, and I make no doubt borrowed from them. But Sir William Petty lays the charge of this aversion on their priests, who, he says, teach them that this way of living (by cattle and pasturage) is more like the Patriarchs of old, and the saints of latter times, by whose prayers and merits they are to be relieved, and whose exam-

ple they are therefore to follow. And indeed I am ready to allow his account for a reason I shall tack to it, and that is, that by discouraging agriculture they destroy the chief maintenance of the heretic ministers, and so put them on almost as bad a foot as themselves. If we consider the vast influence the Popish priests have on their good Catholics, and the hatred they bear our clergy, who have seized on the tythes, and left them the people (as pirates that rob the provisions and cargo and leave the starving mariners to sail the ship) it will seem very likely, that wherever they could they have taken this revenge.

But there is another great obstruction to our tillage in Ireland, which is harder to be accounted for, and that is, the fondness of our Protestant gentlemen to large herds of cattle and pasturage. This humour has spread so generally through the nation, that though it eats up our people like a plague, and lays our country waste, we seem every day to do all in our power to encrease this epidemical evil of overrunning vast tracts of land with such prodigious herds of cattle, that our stock-masters in some counties will soon be able to match the famous Mac Surly-boy in Queen Elizabeth's time, who is said to have kept 50,000 head of cattle to his own share.

It would be terrible to suppose, that any disinclination to their own clergy can occasion this fondness, and therefore we had better impute it to the desire of keeping their lands unbroken and in heart, or to its being a safer and an easier way for the landlord to get his rent, and the tenants to enrich themselves with less hazard and toil. But still the wonder will continue inexplicable, how we can indulge this dangerous humour to the hazard of famine and distress, ever threatening

the nation, to the dispeopling our country, and beggaring the poor natives, who cannot leave us, as well as the holding our lives at the mercy of the corn-factors in England and Holland. But this is not all, for if any doubt could remain as to the farmers gain, Mr. Dobbs (whom I cannot name but with honour for his essay on our trade) has demonstrated, that the least advantage that can be made by tillage, above the best kind of pasturage, is over three to one; to say nothing of the benefit by the first, and the damage by the last, to our unhappy country, when ten acres, under the plough, are sufficient for the maintenance of a large family, and scarce two hundred, when kept under sheep or bullocks.

A third great obstruction to our tillage is, our downright negligence or ignorance in many material articles belonging to it, and our retaining several old customs which are very prejudicial to it. I shall give a few short hints of some of them; and the first I shall touch upon, is, that great instrument of tillage, the plough, which, in many places, we make in so odd a fashion here, that if it were carried to England they would hardly know what it was, and would be utterly at a loss how to use it, or till their land with it, at least, to make it produce a tolerable crop. Instead of having different kinds of ploughs, as the strong Hertfordshire plough for the first, and the smaller light Suffolk plough for the second fallowing, and the little foot-plough for the shutting up the furrows. Instead of having several sorts, (to say nothing of the new-invented patent plough, and the double and four coultered ploughs) for over-wet, stiff, clay grounds, or light, dry, sandy, loamy soils (as all good husbandmen, in the ploughing counties of

England, generally have) we shift off all our business with one, and that so ill contrived and ordered, the Dutch would not wish us a worse, and what is as bad as all the rest, it is often drawn not by oxen (as it were to be wished our laws obliged us) but by horses, or garrons, as we call them, of different sizes, which also many of the poorest Irish draw by the tail. But we work our ploughs as ill as we make them, when we turn up our field with them, for we generally leave much of our soil entirely unstirred, and the furrows bare, broad and unfruitful; even our richest lands are by no means wrought to a sufficient fineness. Thus, after a great deal of injudicious and superfluous labour, we rather drown or bury our grain than sow it. Though we plough too little through the kingdom, each particular farmer often ploughs too much, that is, he grasps at more than he can well manage, and what by sowing too late, what for want of due care, sufficient manure, and proper culture, well applied, he has frequently a smaller crop on 40 acres than he might have on 20 truly wrought with skilful management. Our neglect as to proper manures is intolerably great in our poorer lands, numbers of them we know nothing of, and many of those, we do know, we do not employ to the best use, and in a skilful manner, by which means it happens, that our crops are so ordinary, that our neighbours in England, under double rents, severe taxes, and treble wages for labour, with the help of a small premium, can bear the loss and charges of exporting their grain to us, and yet undersell us in our own towns. Many of our lower people are also as lazy as they are ignorant, and yet have as bad tools as they have hands. Numbers of the harrows of our poor farmers,

(I speak what I see and know) have their harrow-pins made of wood, and the tackle for them (and the plough also) of twisted gads and wretched taggs cut out of the hides of horses they have killed, probably by unskilful under-feeding and over-labouring; but even our best iron-pinned harrows are ill contrived, both for the draught of the cattle, and the breaking the clods. They are generally too light, and the pins too short, thin, and weak, and not right placed to answer each other, and therefore can never sufficiently raise and break the mould, which is the main point to make a light, open, warm bed and coverlet, if I may so speak, for the grain. Thus we just scratch the ground only, as Mr. Frazier, in his voyage *to the South-Sea, says, the Indians do in Chili; and when we have done, we neither manure our land sufficiently, nor steep the seed in proper liquors to enrich it, nor use rollers to smooth and flatten the mold. Nay, we do not even mow the crop, with scythes when it is ripened, but rich and poor cut it down entirely with hooks, what grain soever it be; and some of the less improved Irish, instead of threshing, do often burn the straw as the quickest and easiest way to get out the grain. This, indeed, is a terrible account of our husbandry, and, I must own, in many particulars, is only applicable to the poorest and less civilized part of the Irish natives; but I have set it down here just as the Lacedemonians made their slaves, the Helotes, drunk, and then exposed them to their youth, to make them ashamed of such odious folly.

* Page 75.

Another material obstruction to our tillage in Ireland, is the uncertain prices and markets for our grain.

When fruitful seasons happen both to us and our neighbours, grain becomes a perfect drug, and then, contrary to all good policy, we give the merchant a premium to export it to those who do not want, and consequently will not purchase it but at a very low rate, either to feed their people and families, or victual their ships cheaply, and, at the same time, enable them to sell their manufactures cheaper than those they buy from can; or else they buy it with a view to sell it back to us (as they often do) with treble interest for freight and factorage. While the markets keep low, the farmer thinks he has so little encouragement, that he drops his plough and his labour, and never resumes them, until a bad season, or an over-great exportation of our corn bring a dearth or a famine, and an immense price rouses his industry anew. Thus our tillage is kept in a perfect ague; one while so hot we think we shall never be cool again, and in a little time starving and perishing, and in despair of getting warmth and life in us.

But it is time to quit so disagreeable a subject, and to consider what are the properest remedies by which we may remove these obstructions.

And in the first place we should do our utmost, by all means and methods in our power, to cure our people of that lazy aversion to the plough, which must be of fatal consequence to us if it continues.

We should encourage all under our influence, both by our example and proper rewards, to be fonder of this useful kind of husbandry, and

at the same time, put the act for the encouragement of tillage in execution, with the utmost rigour. It is true there are some very necessary amendments wanting to that useful law, which might make it excuse itself, and possibly, if the fifteenth acre were to be ploughed instead of the twentieth, and the suing for, and recovery of the penalty were made more easy and certain, it would at once contribute to make this nation easy in this important matter.

The curing our people of their fondness for pasturing their lands must, I fear, have some additional helps, or in time it will prove ruinous to us, and make us, as we observed before, a despicable nation of butchers and drovers. So wretched a condition have we brought ourselves to, that, while other nations I could name, are jealous of taking too many hands to the plough from their more gainful manufactures, and, therefore, would only have as much corn as would feed themselves, without allowing any for exportation; we cannot be industrious enough to plough as much as will keep us from want and famine at home, and the consequence of them, the extortion of foreign corn-factors, who thus consume our few pence that should keep our trade from perishing. It is plain this land-flood has spread so far and wide already, that there cannot be sufficient stores of cattle found to stock the wild wastes of their farms, which has raised the prices so high, that some begin already to shake their heads, and compute the difference of the gain between ploughing and grazing their farms. However it were to be wished that this trade, which employs so few hands, and is so pernicious to our country, were some way checked; and if a tax, like that

in Holland, of so much on every carcase of beef when exported, were laid on by act of Parliament, to the carrying on several of our manufactures. it would be a double service to the poor of our nation, and would prove severe on none but foreigners.

Possibly if the English (as it is thought they will) should repeal the act against exporting live cattle to Great Britain from Ireland, it might lessen the slaughter of beeves for exportation, without sinking one penny of what we now gain by them, and by coming, as it were, between the living and the dead, in some measure stay that devouring plague more than at first sight one would imagine; but if none of these reliefs can be hoped for, our wretched comfort must be, that the fire must go out, when there are no more houses left for it to burn.

As to the removing the obstruction which our tillage meets with from our ignorance, it must proceed from time and practice, and the examples of those of distinction and fortune among us. If skilful English husbandmen were invited over by our gentry, by good wages or farms, to be their overseers, or their tenants, it would go a great way in this matter. This would bring us into right methods, and introduce, among other things, the steeping our seed grain in different brines and liquors, the enriching different soils with their proper manure, and in short, the changing many of our barbarous customs for such as are more useful and profitable. I could name some of the best and worthiest men in the kingdom who have begun this method to the great advantage of all around them, as well as their own satisfaction and profit; and certainly, he who introduces improvements of this kind

among us, contributes more to the benefit of the poor, than if he built hospitals for them; as those last can only relieve the very aged, weak, or sick, and the other gives food, and raiment, and employment to all who want, and will seek for them. The old Romans had public officers, as Aulus Gellius tells us, in his twelfth book, to inspect the tillage of the people, and to see that every one managed their farms properly, and to punish such as did not, as enemies to the commonwealth; and though it may be truth, that such methods would not suit our times, yet every gentleman's example is, in his estate and neighbourhood, a living law to the same purpose; and possibly, after all, it were to be wished he could be vested with the same kind of authority. We see in England, as Mr. Hartlib * observes, that in Henry VIII. and Edward VI.'s days (and he might have named others) the legislature concerned themselves so far, in actually forcing the people to fall to tillage by penal laws, and to leave off the pernicious lazy method of pasturage, that at last they effectually brought them into it; and once they found the sweet of it, and got skill and experience, they never left it off since; and those laws are now grown quite obsolete. Why some such methods should not be fallen upon by our Parliaments I cannot conceive, where the want is so great, and the example so strong before our eyes; but I am sure one good law that would execute itself, and formed on the best model of those old statutes, might not only save, but gain this nation incredible sums of money in a few years.

Lastly, the effectual cure for that obstruction

* His Legacy, Page 35.

of our tillage, that proceeds from low prices, must be sought for in those great blessings, to every state, where they are set up, public store-houses, and granaries.

It is very surprizing what advantages all trading nations receive, who make use of them, by keeping bread at a reasonable stated price through the year, for by this means the workman's wages, and the value of his goods are more fixed and certain, and by never feeding too dear, they can often undersell their rivals, who have not that providence. The very terror of famine alone makes such public storehouses so frequent in Poland, Germany, Italy, Geneva, and the Swiss cantons, but Holland has not only by this means, fenced against that evil, but also secured the cheapness of her manufactures. As we can easily supply ourselves with corn from our own fields, we should take care to keep it always near such a price, as that the farmer may be encouraged to plough, and the manufacturers be able to eat and work at a reasonable price, or else our trade and our tillage will still fluctuate, and this, public storehouses established by law, would effectually secure. Mr. Hartlib, Captain Yarrington and Mr. Dobbs, (whose scheme tallies exactly with theirs,) have enlarged so fully on this matter, that there can remain no doubt of the advantages that result from them, and could we once get but so many built by act of Parliament, as would lay up even 100,000 barrels for a store for the nation, which is near as much as we imported in our late dearths, we should at least prevent so vast a drain from taking off our specie another time, we might furnish them in cheap and plentiful years, when corn is generally sound and large, and fittest for keeping, and as all exportations

might be prohibited till they were filled, and till grain rises to such a determined price; so, by having such a stock in bank, we should not be in danger of being so vastly extorted on, as we have been in times of scarcity. Besides it is to be considered, that by keeping our grain in stacks, or barns, or lofts, there is frequently one fifth or sixth part of it destroyed by rats, mice, and other vermin; much of it is heated, or grows musty, or damaged by want of hovels, by rain and storms, and sometimes consumed by fire; all which accidents are prevented by this method, and very probably, even the grain thus saved from such losses and mismanagements, would be sufficient to keep down the market and prevent a dearth. But we would not only save our grain thus, by early threshing and bringing it into the granaries at the legal price, but the farmer would thereby get the straw and the chaff in due time for his cattle, and thatch, and dung, as well as light oats for his horses, and poultry, and swine, in the proper season when he wants them, most of all which he loses by waiting for an high market, and as tickets must be delivered to him under the granary seal, he may take up money on them, or keep off creditors by them till the price rises, as well as by mortgaging a freehold, or transferring a bond. It is usual, (Captain Yarrington says) in Holland, for tradesmen and servants to lay out their wages thus, as the best way they can turn them, for profit by the rise of the market; and indeed as the common price of storage is but a penny the bushel per annum, and the advance of corn is too often very considerable, there is no doubt but this would soon grow a custom with us also, if once we had the sanction of a law for establishing such granaries in

this kingdom. And indeed the advantages resulting from them, both to trade and tillage would be so considerable, that it is amazing they have not been thought of, for besides several other methods, I can see no reason why such cities as Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Derry, Belfast, Sligo, and Galway, should not be as much obliged in interest and true policy to lay up annual proportions of corn, as ships going to sea, or troops on a march, and therefore if they neglect it, forced to it by a law. We see all the corporations in London had their several storehouses of this nature, to prevent the extortion and misery of a dearth; and I can see no reason why the whole community should not be as much taken care of, by the prudence of the legislature, as these rich companies were by their predecessors, and their proper officers, their masters and wardens. I make no doubt if those unreasonable, and indeed impolitic premiums which are allowed on exportation of malt or bere, when at ten shillings the quarter, and wheat, when at fourteen shillings, had been laid aside, and transferred in a better manner, and at an higher allowance to public granaries, it would go a greater way in this important matter, to prevent our farmers being undone, or our poor being starved, and especially if private granaries under proper restrictions, were also duly encouraged; we might thus preserve a sufficient store ready for foreign exportation, when an high market abroad, and plenty at home, made it reasonable, and as we see the vast benefit derived to their people by this providence in the Dutch; it is to be hoped our legislature will soon take the same care of their country, and that we shall neither want

granaries (at least at Cork and Dublin) to secure us from future famines, nor a Joseph in our present chief governor to direct their due regulation and management.

And thus I shall dismiss any further considerations as to this branch of our Irish agriculture, and shall now proceed to another RESOLUTION, (though I have hinted something on it before) which it is incumbent on us as country gentlemen and farmers to make, and that is,

We resolve to the utmost of our power, to practise ourselves and encourage in others, the raising of flax and flax-seed in the best and skilfullest manner, to support and enlarge our linen manufactures.

This is a more vital article, than the very bread we have been speaking of, and is to the last degree, necessary to our subsistance, as the great source from which by due industry we may hope for safety, and ease, and perhaps in time for plenty and prosperity. It is our chief staple commodity, and so beneficial that (besides the large encouragements given by the Linen Board) in the common methods of working it up, we reckon an acre of flax will produce 30l. and employ six hands completely, and if we suppose it spun and wove in the finest hollands, cambricks, and laces, its value improves to an immense degree. It has also this great advantage, that we can never run too much into it, it being certain, that if we could export to the value of a million a year, more than we do, we should never want a market for it in Great Britain alone; to which, by crossing the channel in a few hours, we inport it custom free,

when all other nations pay considerable duty, after a tedious navigation. It has made so prodigious a progress among us, within these thirty years, that we now from a trifle, make near 500,000l. per ann. clear by it, and if it goes on, will provide tolerably for all our poor, and turn the burthen of a large family to a blessing to the parents by the help and assistance their women and children will afford them. It will therefore, be our interest to push this business as far as we can carry it with all expedition; for flourishing as it is, we all know, that it and our prosperity every year depends on the caprice of the seas and winds, and the good will of foreigners and rivals too, who we find by fatal experience, often send us decayed seed. As this makes our condition extremely precarious, and our paying 30,000l. for seed, and undrest flax, makes it still more necessary for us to put ourselves out of so uneasy a state of dependance, we ought at least, to endeavour to supply ourselves at home with seed and flax enough for our own consumption. It has been computed that about 3000 acres more, would fully supply these two articles, and when once that is accomplished, and that vast drain to foreigners cut off, we may consider how we can best extend this manufacture into the west and southern parts of Ireland where it is thought, there are at least 100,000 idle hands, chiefly women and children, who may be employed in it to our, and their great advantage. About 16,000 acres more, would answer the great end and make us a most happy people; a people flourishing by our own industry, and the friendship of Great Britain; and if once Munster and Connaught, set their hands to this desirable work, and would employ their

rich lands, not only in the hemp, but in raising flax and flax-seed for the north, and by degrees would work up our coarser linens, where less skill and experience is necessary, we need not doubt to see it accomplished. Nay, in time, we may hope to furnish lint-seed to the oil-mills in England, if we do not set up enough of our own, for as it is known, that at the lowest valuation an acre of flax will with the seed give 10l. clear of all charges, and will the same season give a crop of clover too, it is very likely, that most people will in time, cheerfully fall into it, especially in those parts that lie near the sea, or navigable rivers, who can easily export their flax, or seed to Dublin, or other markets. The truth is, the prosperity of Ireland depends so much on the general spreading of our linen business, that if every person were obliged by law to sow an acre of flax for every 100, or 150 acres of arable land he held, and to go yet farther, if every person who sowed ten acres was allowed five shillings per acre from his landlord, and to pay no tithe for them, I do not see but it would prove of vast service to this kingdom without injuring our clergy.

As good husbandry is a most necessary article, to enable us to see these hopes accomplished, we must resolve to be punctual in observing these plain and obvious, but necessary rules, which those worthy friends to their country, the Dublin Society have laid down for us in their excellent papers; as some of them are too minute and particular to be inserted here, I shall only mention a few of the most essential ones in as short and clear a manner to help the memory, and spread such necessary cautions as far as these papers can.

And first, we ought to make use only of our richest, strongest, mellowest loams, and those inclining to clays preferably to all others.

2dly, We ought to manure, fallow and labour our grounds for flax with equal care as we do for wheat, if we desire a fine crop. 3dly, We sow our seed early in April, rather thin than thick and on flat ridges, from twenty to sixty foot broad, and with or without trenches, as the ground is moist or dry, and should change both our seed and soil as often as we can.

4thly, We should chuse the shortest, plumpest, thickest, oilyest, heaviest seed of a bright brown colour, and that which sinks soonest in water, or blazes and crackles most in the fire is the best.

5thly, We should never pluck it till it is full ripe, and the seed almost shedding, and then not to stack the flax but ripple and water it without delay. As to the directions of sowing clover some days after the flax-seed, as we do after oats, or as to rolling the ground when dry, weeding it carefully and separating the coarse and fine flax in the pulling and watering it, and several others of the like nature, I chuse to omit them and refer the reader to those curious and useful tracts where they are more fully set forth.

Another important Resolution, which we ought to lay down with the same view is this, viz.

We resolve to do all we can, to introduce all new improvements in husbandry into Ireland, which are likely to be of real profit and advantage, and especially the culture of hops, madder, weld, woad, saffron, liquorice, clover and other grass seeds.

As whoever desires not to be an useless drone in the hive of his country, should labour to improve it to his best ability, I shall touch on each of these articles; and I shall begin with hops, as by their importation, they do us most harm, and by being cultivated here, may therefore do us most good. It is generally computed, that we use 6000 bags every year in Ireland, which at the lowest rate of 4l. the hundred, and 200 weight to the bag, make 48,000l. which sum, large as it is, is chiefly paid by the poorest of our people, to get a little tolerable malt liquor, to comfort them as having little or nothing to eat. This is a terrible drain for a country to lie under, that is so impoverished as ours is, and yet it is certain, with a little industry and zeal to help ourselves, it might easily be stopped, if we would once vigorously set about it, and endeavour to raise plantations of hops among us. By these few we have tried already, we know by experience, that both our soil and climate agree as well with them as our neighbours in England, and though possibly they may not do quite so well in Ulster, since even in England, they have travelled very little further north, than Nottinghamshire, yet in Leinster and Munster, they flourish extremely, and even in Ulster, many gentlemen to my knowledge, have tried them in smaller quantities with good success. About 1000 acres it is agreed would sufficiently answer the whole consumption of the kingdom, allowing for bad crops and failing years, and consequently if two hundred gentlemen would plant but five acres a piece, we should in the first place cut off this vast annual drain of 48,000l. from Ireland, and thereby have that sum to employ to the use of our poor nation at home.

But 2dly, these 1000 acres, would not only help to enrich many thriving families, who would set up such plantations, but also they would give maintenance, for at least five months of the year, to a great number of our poor people, who are now useless and idle for want of employment, to the huge benefit of our country in general, as their labour would be all clear gains to the kingdom. The reasons which are brought against our attempting this matter from the tenderness of hops, our want of sufficient skill as well as shelter and poles, and even sufficient warmth of sun and soil, to give a proper strength to the plant, are so easily answered, that there is no occasion to fear any men of sense can be discouraged by them. Besides the success many of our gentlemen have met with in cultivating them, and the great gain, and the ready market they meet with, where they are to be distinguished from the English, have already encouraged numbers to set their hands and heads to forward this good work. As it is chiefly our gentry who have set about it, whose sense will best rectify any errors, and whose fortunes can best bear the expence, so in a little time, as our experience improves and our profit encreases, it is to be hoped many others will follow the wholesome example they have set us by attempting smaller plantations, which may serve as easy trials this way, and supply their own families and a few neighbours.

It were to be wished indeed, that we should obtain an act of parliament to allow premiums and proper encouragements, to promote and extend the culture of large plantations, but if this is not to be expected soon, yet probably the great profit by hops will effectually spread them

through the nation in some years, though more slowly and gradually.

I could name many of our nobility and gentry, and even ladies too of the best families and fortunes in Ireland, who to their immortal honour, have generously and vigorously laboured with much expence, to nourish this undertaking in its infancy, and if some of our constant absentees, would also assist us in it, they would in the noblest manner make us amends for the want of their help otherwise. If they would send over English planters who understand this and other branches of husbandry, and by giving them good freeholds, on that condition oblige them to employ considerable quantities of their farms that way, and order their agents here, to keep large hop-gardens themselves, and encourage their best tenants by premiums, or good leases, to follow their example, our people would turn their ill wishes into blessings and prayers for them, and their families. As hardly as we think of many of those gentlemen, I know several of them that are as justly distinguished for the greatest virtues, as well as the largest fortunes, and possibly as such a method cannot be very expensive at first, and may greatly enlarge their revenues hereafter, and would be the greatest help to restore our country, which languishes under their absence, to a more flourishing state, we may find some of them who may contrive to give us this generous proof of their regard and pity for us. But this must be left to the goodness of their own hearts, and in the mean time let us comfort ourselves, that though the assistance of skilful and experienced men from England, would be a considerable help to us in this matter, yet it is certain, that those judicious

instructions which our excellent Dublin Society have published about hops are so clear, and so full, and so particular as to all necessary directions, that no man of sense, who will carefully consider and observe them, can fail of success in time, let him be never so unexperienced.

Madder is another article in our husbandry, which we might carry on with great advantage, both as there is above 3000*l.* annually paid to Holland for it by our dyers, and above 30,000*l.* by England, all which might be clear gains to us, if we could cultivate it. All the accounts I have ever met with about it, make the profit so prodigious (from 100*l.* to 200*l.* an acre and more) and the culture so easy, being little more than giving it a deep, warm, rich soil, and keeping it clear of weeds, that I cannot conceive, what has occasioned its being so much neglected by us, if it be not mere ignorance in drying, curing and preparing it for the dyers and making those nice mills, which the Dutch have for grinding it. It is true, the crop comes in but once in three years, which probably is one great objection to it, but then the return is so large, that king Charles I. gave Mr. Shipman, his gardener, a patent for it, as a great favour, though I suppose by the taking away all monopolies, and the troublesome times, it came to nothing, and has been very much neglected to this day in England. So that here is a great opportunity offered to us, if we will make use of it, against which there can be no objection raised, if we had once brought over some Dutchmen to instruct us in the management of it. We have seen it flourish extremely at Dean L'Abadies, in Tipperary, in very indifferent ground, and as probably 600 acres employed this way, would answer the demands of all the

dyers and apothecaries in England and Ireland, and produce a vast profit to the undertakers and the nation, I hope it will not be long before we see this branch of husbandry established among us. I must own as our people from their poverty and other circumstances, are not likely to attempt such undertakings, without some encouragement from the public, it were to be wished, that the trustees of the linen, or tillage boards, might have such funds given them, as would enable them to set on foot this and many other designs I have, and shall mention for the public good, by proper premiums, a fund of even 4000*l.* or 5000*l.* per Ann. thus appropriated to different designs, might easily be contrived, and if judiciously laid out, and faithfully applied to carry them on, would work little miracles in Ireland, and in a few years make us another sort of people.

Weld and woad are two other dyers weeds; which are in great demand for that trade, and may by due cultivation yield considerable profit to our farmers, which are notwithstanding hardly known among us. Weld, which is as useful for dying yellow, as madder for red, will grow on the poorest land, if it be dry and warm, and at the same time, requires no tillage, if sown, as it generally is, after oats, and harrowed in with a bush, and immediately when ripe (which is not till the second summer after it is sown) it must be pulled up in handfuls like flax and so dried and kept for the market. It yields thus frequently from 3*l.* to 6*l.* per acre, all charges and rent deducted which (especially from poor ground) is no small return, and therefore deserves the regard of all gentlemen, who have very dry, though very ordinary land and yet

consequently might make good profit by this weed.

As to woad, it requires very rich, as well as very dry land, which it is said to impoverish greatly; and indeed as the demand for it abroad and our consumption at home is not considerable, and as it requires a large purse, which must be emptied to keep one or two woad mills going, and as the whole management of it is extremely mysterious and difficult, it is impossible to think of making this improvement in our husbandry, but by bringing over skilful men from Holland, hired and encouraged by wages from the public; and employed by some of our skilfullest farmers here, who may make themselves masters of the business.

There is another very necessary improvement in agriculture, which is the management of saffron, that we ought by no means to neglect, because the little we produce in this island has the character of being the best in the world, and sells often for a 4th or 5th penny more than the English, and besides is a drain on us of above 500*l.* per Annum, which is likelier to encrease than fall. I shall not enlarge on the culture of it, because it is so fully and accurately described in Dr. James Doughlass's account of it, which he gave into the Royal Society in November, 1728. Besides that paper is so well abridged by Mr. Read in his Philosophical Transactions, and by Mr. Miller in his Dictionary, that I shall refer any curious enquirer about it to them, who will entertain them very agreeably upon it; all I shall observe of it is, that it loves a rich dry ground, which must be well dunged, and thrice ploughed as deep as the soil will allow, and must when planted be fenced against hares with dead

hedges. When all expences are borne according to the price of labour in Ireland, we may compute that one year with another with proper husbandry an acre may produce at least 8*l.* or 9*l.* per Annum, supposing the dung was to be purchased, and the labour paid for, but as the planter and his family gain a large part thereof clear to themselves, the profit he makes is so much the larger. This is a fair encouragement for our farmers to cultivate saffron; and especially as it seems to delight in our soil and climate, and is easily managed chiefly by the labour of women and children, and besides all this (which suits best with our poor people's circumstances) is easily sent to market without any costs for carriage.

All I shall remark as to liquorice (which is another useful improvement we want) is that it delights in the deepest and richest soil that can be had as madder does, and like that is three years in coming to due perfection before it is fit for digging up for the market. As we have much land in Ireland, fit for producing it, and as the profit is considerable it were to be wished, we had sufficient quantities both for our own use and to export abroad, where the price is so high, and the profit equal to most of those we have spoke of. Clover and other grass seeds, is the best article I mentioned, as proper for us to introduce into our Irish husbandry, and indeed the advantages of them are so great, and begin now to be so well understood, that in a little time, I hope a stack of clover, &c. will be as common as a field of wheat. It is reckoned that all land sowed with it, will feed three or four times as much cattle as common pasture; and yet fattens them better, and gives more milk and better

butter to the dairy. It also enriches land so much that in three years it makes it fit for corn again, so that one may plough up and lay down land, from three years to three years in this manner for an age, and it is certainly the best way of managing most plough-lands, and especially rich clays which are long coming to a coat of grass, unless kept by clover. Rye grass does best in cold and wet soils, where the former will not thrive and endures all severities of weather, and is not only the best winter food, and excellent to prevent the rot in sheep, but it is the earliest in the spring and can hardly be eaten too close. However where the ground is good and fit for clover, it is best sowing these two grasses together, for the rye-grass thickens the crop where the clover fails, and prevents cattle from surfeiting on it, and as it grows upright it shoots through the branches of the clover and betters both the crop and the food.

St. Foin is also for its lasting twenty nay thirty years in the ground, and flourishing even in the driest, shallowest and barrenest lands and greatly enriching them, very deserving of our notice, and especially for our dry, strong, gravelly, shallow, soils, which it thrives very well in, and many gentlemen sow this also mixed with rye-grass to their great advantage; for it is found to fatten horses, black cattle and sheep quickly, and is also excellent for the dairyman by the abundance of milk, and the goodness of the butter it produces. There are other kinds of grasses as lucern, hop-clover, &c. which I cannot allow myself to enlarge on here, and must refer the reader for their use and management, as well as the former one, to books of husbandry. What I have said on this subject

already has proceeded from an earnest desire to spread this excellent way of doubling, nay trebling the produce of our pasture ground, but I shall dwell no further on it than to say that the cultivating of them thus, would be a great improvement of our country, and whoever endeavours by his care and example to propagate and encrease this sort of husbandry among us, will equally contribute to the private advantage of his farm and family and the public service. This would be more particularly useful to encrease the quantity of our hay in Ireland, the scarcity of which often falls heavy on our poor, and sweeps away thousands of their weak cattle in March and April, for which, by trusting to our mild winters and springs, they do not sufficiently provide hay. And though every farmer should strive to remove this ill management in our poor people, yet if the rich multiply hay by these grasses, the price will be easier, and the poor can the better provide for the safety of their cows and horses, which are their chief support and maintainance.

But I have dwelt enough on these matters, and shall now mention another very useful RESOLUTION, which every country gentleman and farmer in Ireland ought never to depart from, and that is,

We resolve to improve the breed of our horses and black cattle, by importing the best of both kinds we can procure from England.

As to the first of these it is certain, that between coach, troop and saddle horses, we send annually about 4000l. out of the kingdom for want of gentlemen, who will keep sufficient

studs, to answer the constant demand we have for such cattle. There is no doubt but this proceeds chiefly from indolence and negligence, since we have land as proper for breeding them as any in England, and much cheaper, and there is a certainty that we would sell them for sufficient profit at our own doors.

But the nation does not only suffer in the money we send out for them, for though the want of good stallions for draught horses through the kingdom, our inland trade is driven not by carts and waggons, as it ought to be, but by the poorest carriages and garrons, as we call them, in the world. And certainly, as our wretched wheel-cars are seldom loaded with above 400 weight, our goods must come much dearer to the market, to our great loss, and the damage of the merchant, all which would be prevented, and many great conveniences secured, if we bred better sized draught horses fit for the carts and waggons which they use in England. Possibly, the use of friction wheels, if generally used and encouraged, might help our carriage something, but I am sure, if we would keep large stallions more generally than we do, and hire out leaps to our neighbours, and determine to sell such stoned colts as we breed ourselves in the halters, at two years old, at cheap rates (in order to disperse well-bred stallions through the country) we should find prodigious benefit from it in Ireland. I am persuaded if some of our horse-jockies would keep a constant stable in Dublin, and have it supplied entirely with stallions for draught and saddle, they would make a great profit by selling them to our gentlemen for breed, and, at the same time, do a great service to the kingdom; and why premi-

ums should not be allowed for all stone-horses, sworn to be brought over for breed, and of such a value and size, I cannot conceive. And, indeed, if by some such law we were once brought, in Ireland, to be fond of breeding such excellent horses of all kinds, we might in time turn our pastures to great advantage this way, and even bring great sums into the kingdom. We see how the famous Anthony Gunter, the last Count of Oldenburgh, by this very method made his whole country famous for the finest horses in Europe; and certainly, by a little care and industry, we might in time find a wide difference in sending over fine horses instead of fat beef to France.

The breed of our black cattle is not indeed quite so bad, because they have been more frequently recruited from England, want less keeping, and are less apt to degenerate than horses. However we have been too remiss in this matter, and, if we consider how much it concerns us to have large sized and good milch cattle, in regard to all the exportations they furnish us with, and the uses they answer, we shall be more careful than we have been to bring over the choicest cattle for breed from the northern counties in England, and especially Yorkshire and Lancashire. The hazard and expence is not considerable, and especially when put in balance with the advantages a fine breed would procure us, though, as we said of horses, it seems highly reasonable in a matter where the nation is so much interested, that proper premiums should be assigned for all, who import bulls and heifers for breed, of such an age, size, and value. A great deal might be said on this subject, but I chuse to hasten to the last RESOLUTION we

should fix on as country gentlemen and farmers, namely,

We resolve to use our best endeavours to get such laws past as may supply whatever is wanting to the thorough improving, and perfecting, and encreasing our husbandry in Ireland.

This may seem as improbable an undertaking, as a spendthrift's promising to be a good manager once he can get out of jail, where his folly and carelessness have thrown him; but nations can do quick work, in a little time, with their many hands, when they see their true interest, and resolve to pursue it. We see Holland and England are now the patterns of the world for trade and husbandry, and yet it is not much above a century since they made as poor a figure in those matters as Ireland does now. Since they had not even the seed-plot of those things sown in their countries, since they were over-run with woods, and had nothing but soldiers and ecclesiastics, and their slaves and villains, as they were called, who by turns wrought and fought under them. It would take up too much room to prove this truth, so I shall only put the reader in mind as to England, that it is not much longer since the Londoners petitioned the crown to be relieved against two grand nuisances, the burning sea-coal in the city, which poisoned them with their stench, (nay since, nice people would eat no meat which was not dressed with wood fires) and the using hops in their malt drink which spoiled its taste, and their healths with it, and these are now two great sources of their wealth and trade. It is not much above a century since their woollen cloths

came to any good degree of perfection, or since they settled in the East or West Indies, or set up the Turkey trade, &c. and to stick closer to the matter of husbandry which we have been considering, it does not exceed the same compass of time, since, as Dr. Plot * tells us they used in Kent to cut down their oaks, and bury them, to make room for the plough, not knowing what to do with them. Nay, it is of no old date, since they had any practice in, or settled notions of agriculture, for it was not till the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign that Tusser writ his doggerel verses, and Scot and Gouge published their tracts, which were the first of the kind in the English tongue. Mr. Hartlib †, who writ in Cromwell's time, says, the old men, in his days, remembered the first gardeners who came over to Surry and sowed turnips, carrots, parsnips, early pease, and rape, which then were great rarities in England, being imported from Holland. They introduced at that time the planting cabbages and cauliflowers, and the digging of ground for gardening stuff; and we all know that both cherries and hops were first planted in Henry VIIIth's reign, and even in Queen Elizabeth's time artichokes first made their appearance, and even then they had cherries still brought from Flanders, apples from France, onions, saffron, and liquorice from Spain, and hops from the Low Countries, though they all of them long since became natives of England. These hasty improvements were owing to the happy reign and wise government of the best of queens, and a lucky turn of humour in the peo-

* In his History of Oxfordshire, p. 162.

† Vide Hartlib's Legacy, p. 9

ple, influenced probably and directed by her wise ministry; and, as we have had a succession of excellent princes, and the mildest governments, we are also making better improvements that way in Ireland than ever, and may well hope they will be nursed up and encouraged by his excellent Majesty, and that most amiable and accomplished prince his son, who seems to turn himself (or rather seems formed by nature) to bless, and to please, and do good to all.

I have before taken notice that Ireland has often shewn a kind of elastic force in recovering herself from her lowest distresses; and as we see Sir William Petty assures us, she had in matters of gardening, planting, building, &c. improved from 1652 to 1673 from one to four, and her trade from 1657 to about 1664 (less than half the time) from one to seven; so, probably, if we will vigorously, one and all, resolve to pursue our tillage, we shall in as few years encrease it at least to double; and if we would build even two or three great granaries, as we formerly hinted, shall think no more of fencing against our too frequent famines, but of relieving those who used to feed us.

It is true these hopes will never produce this desirable blessing, unless our gentlemen take these matters to heart, and not only encourage them by their influence and example as country gentlemen, but also strengthen and enforce them, as our legislators, by vigorous laws, which will execute themselves. I am sensible (God he knows) how unable I am to advise in such weighty points; but rather than let the least hint be lost, which abler heads may improve to the public good, I will run the risque of being thought the weakest of scribblers, by throwing

several methods and means here together, which I have often fancied might forward this excellent end.

As first, it would do well if the linen, or navigation and tillage board had funds and reasonable salaries settled for sensible itinerant husbandmen, which we might bring from England or Holland, and oblige to travel like our flax-men, so many in each province, from one gentleman to another, not staying over three weeks or a month with each, to advise them in the management of their Farms, &c. and to give constant accounts to the board, of all observable defects, mismanagements, &c. in the agriculture of every county.*

It would also, in the second place, be of singular service if we had schools and masters of agriculture settled in several of the great towns of Ireland, with competent allowances to instruct our young gentlemen and rich farmers' sons in the several arts and branches of that useful mystery which so many practice, and so few understand. The consequences hereof would reach far, and sink deep, and make a wonderful change among us, as it would influence and direct those who must necessarily lead the way to the crowd in all great reforms whatever. I cannot think it would be difficult to find a proper fund for such a foundation; and besides, though it were, I am sure we ought not to boggle at a tax for it, as we can hardly pay too dear

* Long after I had writ this, as several of my friends to whom I shewed it in manuscript can testify, a very ingenious pamphlet on premiums was published, where a method of the same kind is laid down; and I am proud to find my thoughts on this subject should so nearly tally with those of that writer, whoever he is.

for such useful purposes. I remember to have seen an act past in the Irish Popish Parliament in 1689, which contained the following clause: "And be it further enacted by the authority "aforesaid, that in the respective cities and "towns of Dublin, Belfast, Waterford, Cork, "Limerick and Galway, there shall be establish-"ed, erected, and settled, before the first day of "December, in each of the said towns and ci-"ties, and so continued for ever hereafter, a free "school for teaching and instructing the mathe-"matics and the art of navigation; in every of "which schools there shall be placed and conti-"nued one or more able and sufficient master, or "masters, for teaching and instructing the said "arts: and that every of the said towns and ci-"ties shall, out of the public revenue and stock "to them belonging, or otherwise, settle and "secure a reasonable pension and stipend for "such master, or masters, to be paid them quar-"terly during his and their continuance in such "employment or employments." Far be it from me to propose that Parliament (which was designed to be fatal to the Protestant and British interest in Ireland) as a proper model for us to follow; yet, if I durst, I would say, (as the Grecian moralist tells us, our worst enemies may often prove our faithfullest monitors) that possibly that clause might hint to us a proper fund for settling schools of agriculture, in those towns, for the service of the nation.

Another article that would be of considerable service to improve our husbandry would be, an act to encourage the draining of our loughs and bogs, by obliging neighbours to join in the works like the act for mears and bounds, or else to pay

their share of the costs, or to forfeit their share of the drained lands.

This island abounds with many thousand bogs and loughs, which might thus be made excellent ground, and extremely fertile; and yet, through lazy, or ill-disposed neighbours, nothing can be attempted. Besides, for want of due encouragement from the landlords, many substantial and industrious tenants are afraid to venture on such an undertaking. Whereas, by the assistance of such a law, many excellent husbandmen might, by proper encouragements, which I presume not to point out, gain as many hundred thousand acres of ground to themselves, the landlord, and the nation, as we see the Dutch in Holland, and the English have recovered in Essex, Lincoln, Bedford, and Cambridgeshires, &c. by their skill and industry, and, at the same time, might also improve our air and climate as much as our lands. The same may be said as to many thousand of acres which might be won from the sea, and abundance of our rivers that overflow vast tracts of ground, which, for want of such a law, are lost to the service of mankind; and, though it be true, that we want hands more than lands in Ireland, yet the extraordinary fertility of such soils would be of such immense benefit, that they will ever be a reproach to our laziness or ignorance till we recover them, as we might by such an assisting law easily do.

A fourth article which would also contribute to this great purpose would be, an act to give effectual encouragement to tenants, and to oblige all substantial landlords, that have lands of such a value, to plant orchards of fruit trees of such dimensions, and preserve them. Though I have formerly taken notice of this, I think it ne-

cessary to repeat it (as I have done two or three other things which we want to be reminded of) and to observe, that the present premium to tenants of one shilling a tree, seems very inconsiderable to have a general influence herein; and as such orchards would be of great service to us in many views, and especially in furnishing us with cider, which costs us 2000l. per ann. it is to be hoped this matter may one day be considered by our legislature, and effectually provided for. We may also, under this head, bring one that belongs to it, which is, to provide, by due encouragements, a sufficient number of nursery men, with proper stocks of fruit and forest trees; for, not only our countrymen, but mankind in general, are so indolent, that unless such stores are got ready to their hands, our acts for all kinds of planting (when the planter is to begin from the seed or the stock) will be much less effectual than the necessities of our country require. But as these matters can only be considered here as the excrescencies of husbandry, and, as I have formerly hinted something on the same subject, I shall not enlarge farther on them now, but proceed to two other points which are of less importance, and which would not so directly improve our husbandry as (by taking proper measures to remove them) prevent no small loss which our farmers suffer by them, and unimportant as they are, I shall not pass them by. The one is to give proper rewards for the heads of crows, rooks, daws, finches, sparrows, and larks, which devour an incredible quantity of grain, both when it begins to sprout, and when it is ripe. The other is to have the same restriction here against pigeon houses, which they have in England, and to allow none to be built but on old foundations, as

the Turks serve Christian Churches among them. As trifling as these two articles may seem, I am persuaded these two bands of spoilers consume as much corn as would serve one third of all our poor, in the worst and longest time of famine and scarcity; and there we may well set them down as an heavy encumbrance on our tillage, which helps to keep it low, and lessens our crops more than we imagine, the damage which pigeons alone do England annually, between what they spoil, and what they eat, being computed at near a million of money.

Lastly, that I may not grow tedious I shall throw several articles together, which I conceive may also assist this great design; as namely: laws to restrain and punish idlers, and oblige those who get their bread by husbandry to a regular, constant course of work and industry: laws against stock-jobbing lands and leases; to prevent the racking and oppressing of under-tenants, by those farmers who grind the face of the poor, by taking large tracts of ground, and cheap bargains, merely to set them at a severe rent to others, and (to add no more) laws to encrease, or rather create an industrious substantial yeomanry amongst us, instead of the unfed and uncloathed beggars, that keep our lands as poor as themselves.

I shall not dwell on the case and expediency of each of these, because they are sufficiently obvious to all, who can weigh and consider them, and assign them their due bounds and regulations; and though there is a method, which I conceive would be of as great service in this affair as any I have yet named, yet as it would take up more room to explain it fully than I can allow it here, and as I propose to lay it one day

before the Dublin Society in a particular paper, I shall omit it, and shut up this subject with my hearty wishes, that some abler hand may gather out of this heap, something wherewith he may contrive in some tolerable manner, to improve and enrich our wasted, and wasting, country.

Let us now proceed to another material relation in life, which has a great influence on our country, and which numbers of us stand in, and that is as magistrates and justices of the peace.

And here methinks, this is one of the first Resolutions we should fix on, *viz.*

We will endeavour to know and understand the laws of the land, in order to answer the trust that is reposed in us, and put them in execution with zeal and integrity.

Whoever is once honoured with that commission should not only carefully study the laws, to make him love our country and the blessings of our constitution, to give him a fondness for liberty and an aversion for tyranny and slavery, but also to enable himself to discharge an office with skill and ability, which he has sworn to execute. For though there is no necessity he should be an able lawyer, yet a reasonable acquaintance at least with all statutes, that touch his province or have delegated any power to him, is highly proper. It will not only give him a character of skilfullness in his main business, but enable him also to advise his neighbours even in matters of law and equity, and prevent or end expensive suits by a friendly arbitration, where a little knowledge with much of honesty, will go great lengths in delivering poor families from the ruinous expence of law suits.

And here since I have touched on this point, let the reader pardon me, if I add to it though a little abruptly, that it were to be wished we had a law past, that no suit should be commenced in any of the courts above, for a sum less than *30l.* but that all such should be determinable by the Justices of the Peace in their Sessions, or by Referees appointed by them. Bonds might be given by the parties to stand to such arbitration, with a power of appealing to the next assizes, if injured by their sentence; but subject to treble costs, if the sentence be confirmed. This would secure speedy and cheap justice to the poor, and at home too, where they and the circumstances of the dispute are best known, and where consequently, they would be redressed without being undone. But to return—such a knowledge in our laws, would give a justice of the peace greater authority to terrify rogues and villains, as also to protect the innocent, to deliver the poor from the paw of the oppressor, and to check wickedness and violence, vice and debauchery of all kinds whatever, which the narrow tether he is tied up to will allow. This he must never stretch too far, but rather content himself by persuasion and kind offices, to redress such grievances as the laws have not put sufficiently in his reach.

But though the power of such officers is a good deal limited, yet are they vested with no contemptible authority, being entrusted with the maintaining peace and order, the punishment of wickedness and vice, and protecting innocence and virtue. They are under the judges of the land, the vice-guardians as it were of our properties and lives, our ease and quiet; being placed as public watchmen over our morals and the censors of the people's manners, and in many cases

the settled executors of several of our laws, for preserving the good effects of our national religion and trade, if we may use such an expression of two things, which are not yet quite dead among us. When the management of such a province is placed with worthy men, and in clean hands, firm and steady, and skilful in their work, it must be of huge importance to our country. When such officer's knowledge of the laws, is joined to an honest zeal of heart and uprightness of soul to see them executed, with a love for virtue, an hatred for vice, and an inviolable integrity and inclination to justice! When he has not only an horror for bribes but even a scorn for legal fees; when he has an undistinguishing blindness for friends or enemies, neighbours or strangers, in discharging his duty; he becomes an honour to his post; a blessing to his fellow creatures, and in the best sense of the word, a father to his country! He gives new weight to the laws by the unbiassed distribution of their decrees, and wherever the severity of his sentence happens to fall, he is no more blamed or hated by the criminal, who suffers by it, than a destroying angel, who is obliged to execute the orders of divine justice. I know those, whom this picture will resemble so much, that they will seem to have sat for it, as it is really drawn from the life, and I heartily wish there were numbers of them. But alas! there are but too many who are the reverse of all this in their conduct, and who by ignorance and vice, by the vilest prostitution of their power and abuse of the laws, sink this office as low as the criminals they protect, and the oppression, avarice and corruption they too often deal in. But as it is to be hoped that men of mean fortunes and low education, of little

abilities and less virtue, will seldom be able by partial recommendations to dishonour this employment, I shall only take a view of this subject on the agreeable side, and set down several resolutions, by which gentlemen in this post may contribute greatly to the public service. And in doing this as it would be absurd to take in the numberless particulars, where a gentleman in such a situation may be useful, I shall only confine myself to a very few articles, which are generally too much over-looked and neglected.

Now in order hereunto we lay down this as a very proper RESOLUTION, *viz.*

We resolve as magistrates in our several counties to prosecute with all the severity of justice, all kinds and distinctions of felons, and criminals, and above all, those who are murderers.

Possibly this may seem an harsh word to be used of those, who only kill men in fits of drunkness, anger and resentment for some affront or injury; but it is the language of our laws, and therefore I hope I may use it, but however that be, I am sorry to say, there is but too much reason for this resolution in every part of it. As to common felons in many counties, which I will not name, it is too notorious, that through a false mercy and tenderness in some men, and the vile connivance and partiality in others, it is very difficult to get the laws put in execution against the plainest crimes, and the most confessed thieves and villains. Many are suffered to escape, between the interest of the landlords, the corruption of prosecutors as well as the villainy and perjury of bribed witnesses.

This is a very grievous evil, and big with a thousand others, and therefore calls for all the attention and application of an honest magistrate to remedy, if he would not have his country a nursery of thieves and rogues.

But what is yet worse, and I fear harder to cure, is that dreadful indulgence, which through the whole kingdom is shewn to fair and honourable murderers of all denominations. As to gentlemen who are guilty of this crime; there is hardly one in a hundred ever condemned, and as it will be hard to subdue this inveterate trampling on our laws, we should beg of our legislature, that if they cannot be hanged, they may at least be fined for it; and that the murderer if acquitted or pardoned, should be liable without appeal to pay such a proportion of his annual income or substance to the maintenance of the widow and children, or, if there be none such, to the brothers and sisters, or the next heirs of the deceased. This would possibly have a good effect in tying up the honourable hands of men of fortune or family; and as for inferior people, it were to be wished that the criminal though acquitted, should always suffer twelve months close imprisonment. In the mean time, it is certain that in general, it is safer to kill a man, than steal a sheep or a cow, and as this is the vilest mark of barbarism, and is not only an imputation on the justice of the nation, but an evidence of the contempt of the laws both of God and man, surely every one that wishes well to Ireland should resolve to do his utmost to enforce our laws, and wipe off such a stain from the honour and justice of his country. The truth is, (as to other felons at least) as a mistaken tenderness to the lives of criminals, made juries frequently acquit them, there seemed a necessity,

for that as well as other reasons, to pass the act for transporting felons either for life or years, according to their crimes. It is therefore to be hoped, that juries will now be the readier to rid their country of such wolves as live by preying on it, and devouring the substance of their neighbours, and so far it is certain, this act will be of good service to us; and yet possibly though it be a litte foreign to our subject, if hanging and transporting criminals were altered into so many years of severe labour here in provincial work-houses, where they might be employed in our hemp and flax manufacture, it would be more for the service of the nation. For certainly, it is highly improvident to hang or banish a man whose labour for life, if well wrought, and safely confined, is worth (to be sold as a slave) 50l. for stealing, a sum it may be, not exceeding the price of a few day's wages; nor can such a proceeding be considered, in justice, but as robbing the nation of so much sterling money. The profits of a governor of such a provincial work-house, would make from their labour, the penalties that should fall on his neglect, and the keeping such malefactors strongly chained, and secured with iron ruffs on their necks, as in Spain, and heavy bolts on their feet, might easily guard the nation from their escape; and besides, that all their labour would be so much gain to the public, and amount to a very large sum, and that such a punishment would be as bad as death to an Irishman, and consequently deter others from such transgressions, we should be the fonder of such an expedient, as it is certain many of our people commit crimes through mere poverty and an inability to provide bread for their families. By this means therefore they would by their

learning to work up our manufactures, be delivered from that necessity, and enabled (when dismissed from their confinement) to get their living by the best sort of industry. We know that this method is taken abroad in another manner, where the mines (to say nothing of their gallies) are made prisons, and possibly as we have several mines in Ireland, if great offenders were sold, or in some proper manner condemned to work there for life, on full bail of the master of the mines, that no felon should escape, it might prove no ill method. The former one indeed seems the most eligible, because we see the good effects of it both in Sweden and Denmark. In the first of these kingdoms, Doctor Robinson late Bishop of London tells us (P. 19. of his account of Sweden) all thieves are thus punished with perpetual slavery, being condemned to work during their lives for the king, in making fortifications or other drudgery, and always have a collar of iron about their necks, with a bow coming over their heads, to which a bell is fastened with rings.

In Denmark in like manner, as my Lord Molesworth assure us * they are all condemned for life or years to work at the holm, (a great public yard in Copenhagen, with docks to build shipping) where they are employed by turns in all laborious works belonging to ships, guns, anchors, cables, drawing of timber, &c. and consequently, their crimes are made beneficial to the public. The ingenious Mr. Narse in his essay on the poor, proposeth, that all felons, &c. committed to gaol should be obliged to hard labour till their trial, nor can I see a possible objection against it; but why we should every

* Account of Denmark, p. 129.

year cut off such numbers of our few hands by death or banishment from serving our country, I must own, I cannot see, unless we want the good sense of our northern neighbours, to settle proper places and people to employ and secure malefactors in, and thereby make them useful to the nation in proportion as they designed to hurt it. But let us leave this to the wisdom of our legislature, and proceed to another RESOLUTION of no small importance to Ireland, if it were duly observed, namely,

We resolve to put the laws strictly in execution against all vagabonds, idlers and sturdy beggars, as the greatest pests of this kingdom.

As little as we regard these points, and as slightly as we consider them, they are of great importance to all countries, but especially they demand our utmost attention here, in a nation of beggars, where so many thousands are idle, and lazy enough to be fond of the trade, and an infinite number of people weak enough to encourage them in it by relieving them. It is certain many of our gentlemen are but too charitable this way, and give with both hands to the vagrant poor, so that one would think they look on them as creatures of their own, who owe their very trade and being, either to their extorted rents and severe exactions, or else to their as faulty indolence, in neglecting to watch over them and putting them in the way to industry, in our manufactures or husbandry. But certainly charity to such vagabonds is cruelty to the state, which is more interested to see her people work, and be busily employed, than any

master of a private family is to make his servant labour duly.

Nay her well being depends more upon it, for as the civil law speaks, and indeed our own statutes use the same language, the welfare of the public depends on every man's making the best use of his time and capacity, to serve himself and others. Now these drones do not only neglect all work themselves, but they live on the little stock and provision of the industrious bees, and what is worse, are like those, the greatest breeders in the hive, and produce a race every way resembling them, which follow their example and the same way of living. They are indeed the great nursery of thieves and felons in the nation, and as the life they lead, however wretched it appears, is very easy and free from care, they make too many converts, who find it is a comfortable trade, which is soon learned, and grow rich by setting up upon nothing. This is a disorder, which costs our country incredible sums of money to no purpose, which can be cured by nothing, but those whips and rods of the law, which are appointed for them, and which if the state would duly make use of, might in time keep our people as busy through the nation, as the children in a Dutch spinning school, where whoever stops the wheel or keeps another idle, is immediately corrected, and all are watched and awed into industry. We might then hope either to see our poor people like the Italians, scorn to beg, or terrified from it by the rigour of the officers of justice, as we see they are in Saxony and Holland, where the laws of the state work as great a miracle, as the laws of God did among the Jews, by not allowing a beggar in the land. And indeed it is

to be wished, that it was not only punishable to such to ask alms, but also as penal to the rich to give them, and that it should be as fineable in Ireland, to bestow a penny to such vagrants, as it is to sell gin in small quantities in Great Britain.

It is really robbing the honest industrious poor, who keep at home in their own parishes, where they are known, and where every man's hand should be stretched out to relieve them, and help them to subsist, where the pressures of old age, sickness and want, make their miserable labour to do it. These and these only are the true objects of our charity, and it is only such as Bishop Burnet tells us, that are taken care of both in Holland and Scotland, where with us we are so indulgent to these strolling vagabonds, who often pay their rents with the alms they get, that one would think (as charity some say is but self-love disguised) we all feared, we may one day be reduced to the same condition, by our wasteful luxury and vanity, and therefore give, that it may be given to us again. If the famous law of the Emperor Valentinian were in force, that whatever such lazy idle vagrants were met, that were able to work, every freeman might seize them for slaves, and keep them to hard labour for life, we should see a clear riddance of the worst and greatest part of them, and then we might with safety relieve the rest who truly deserve and want it. Whoever is once acquainted with the wicked arts they use to distort their limbs, and their poor infants, the false sores and diseases they counterfeit, the lies they invent, and the debaucheries, drunkenness, and thieveries they put in practice, will easily see the mischief they bring on the nation, and

the necessity there is for us to throw off these *purgamenta urbium* as Tacitus calls them, these off-scourings of the earth, which equally infect and devour our people and rob the truly deserving poor, of our benevolence and charity, wherever we meet them, we should like faithful magistrates, send them to the stocks and the whipping post appointed for them, or convey them from constable to constable, till they arrive at their own home, from whence if ever they return again, they should be provided for life in another place of residence, which the law has appointed for them: though through our indolence and folly, the buildings are so far dilapidated, that it will cost us some time and thought to restore them, I mean our country work-houses. To accomplish this good end, it will be incumbent on us to unite one and all in this general RESOLUTION, *viz.*

We resolve, as faithful magistrates in our country, to join together to restore the discipline of our Laws against all vagabonds and sturdy beggars, and to re-establish and regulate the wholesome and wise foundations of our ancestors, the county work-houses, as settled by our statutes.

It is amazing to any one who will read these, and consider how well they were contrived, to find how our indolence and negligence has let them fall to the ground, as if they never had any use or being. To refresh our memories, and open our eyes, it will not be amiss if we take a summary view of the statute by which they were settled, and then let us give some account, if we can, of what we have been doing ever since, and

what is become of them. This is the more necessary at present, as our legislators have by rejecting the heads of a bill for erecting parish work-houses (which many gentlemen had zealously espoused) plainly directed us to those, which the laws have already appointed for this good purpose.

First then it is enacted, that in each county, before Michaelmas 1636, such an house of correction should be built or provided with proper backside, mills, working cards, and other implements, to employ all rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars, &c. These houses were to be conveyed, by the justices in session, to persons employed for the keeping, correcting, and setting to work such people. All justices of the peace to forfeit 5l. for each year such house was unprovided, half to the prosecutor, and half to the building the house, and were enabled raise money off the county for providing such house and fund. For setting to work all persons sent thither, and to pay a salary to the governor, and appoint a treasurer who is to account annually for all disbursements, and the governor every quarter for all persons sent thither, and fineable for neglects or escapes. All persons committed, to work constantly, and to be punished by fetters, &c. and moderate whipping, and to have no allowance but what they can earn by their labour. The justices to meet twice a year to put this act in execution, and give warrants four or five days before such meeting for a general search for all vagabonds, &c. to be brought before them, and punished or dismissed. All constables to give in a written account, on oath, of all vagabonds taken by them, and, on every failure, to be fined at will, not ex-

ceeding 40s. And lastly, the justices of assize are to enquire, in their circuits, of all neglects of any justices of the peace, or other officers, who have failed in the due execution of this statute.

I have made the fuller abstract of this law, as it is plain it is wholly owing to our own neglect in executing it, that we want proper work-houses, and are therefore pestered with such swarms of lazy, useless vagrants in every county in the kingdom. It is certainly one of the worst instances of our being happy in good laws, and miserable by our letting them sleep forgotten and neglected; though, probably, the long rebellion in 1641, was the chief occasion of our losing the good effects of this act; yet, undoubtedly, it was long since, and is still, in our power to enforce it so, as to make it if not as useful as it was intended at first, yet of more service than it is at present. Were it vigorously re-established, and the neglects of those nominal masters who have now salaries for doing nothing, severely fined, and a strict discipline kept up therein by the justices of the sessions, we should not only cut up by the roots, the lazy begging trade of those vagrants, who would be kept to hard labour and corrected there, but we should keep thousands busy at their own homes, who now abandon them, to live at the doors, and by the plunder of more industrious people. Were such wretches sure to meet with imprisonment and correction for their idleness, and to be whipt to hard labour, they would soon prefer an easy industry at home to such hardships, and bring up their offspring to a better way of life. It were to be wished indeed that some few amendments should be added to this statute, and such encouragements given to the master of the work-house, as should make

it his interest to keep his prisoners heartily to their work, and if among other things it were made penal to relieve vagrants, and that their children might be seized on for apprentices for twenty years to any, that pleased, or sent to some of the new charter schools, when they are grown more frequent in the kingdom, it would be of great use. As the kingdom loses an immense sum by the idleness of those wretches, so by giving fresh vigour to this law, we should not only save that money, but give a new turn of industry and activity to all our people, which would be of infinite service to us, by encreasing our manufactures; and certainly our poor country, in its present low circumstances, has as much a right to call for the labour of its inhabitants, as a ship in a storm, that all shall work, when, without it, death and ruin are before their eyes.

If I had room there are many other articles of equal importance, which fall under the cognizance and direction of all justices of the peace, and might very properly be enlarged on here, such as a severe execution of the laws in favour of our trade, the watching over our linen manufactures, the guardianship of our religious and civil rights against Papists and Popery, the faithful inspecting the accounts of all public works, buildings, bridges, and roads, as well as correcting all misdemeanors and misbehaviours against sobriety and decency, peace and good order, and above all, those corrupters of good manners, gamesters and drunkards, and debauched and lewd companions.

These and many other cares the laws have assigned to them as their province; and if gentlemen would, with zeal and spirit, attend to their trust, and like so many Sir Edmondbury God-

freys, give life, and motion, and energy to our laws, it is hardly credible what the consequences would be to this poor island, in the reformation of a number of abuses, which spread and encrease among us like weeds in a garden, for want of being duly kept under the hoe. But it would take up too much of the reader's time and thoughts to descend to so many minute particulars as a long discourse on these things would lead us into, and therefore I shall dismiss them all with wishing that every magistrate may attend to them, and endeavour to do honour to those who place him in this station, by acting up to the dignity of such a trust, by shewing an unwearied zeal for the public interest, for our laws and our liberties, our peace and safety, for religion and virtue, and justice in his country.

There is another material situation in which many of us are engaged, and in which the welfare of Ireland is nearly concerned, and that is, as merchants; and in this view we should firmly and constantly lay down this necessary RESOLUTION, *viz.*

We resolve as Irish merchants, that we will take all possible care, by watching over the goodness of the commodities and manufactures we export, to pay due regard to the laws at home, and the credit and interest of our country abroad, and the faith and honour of the Irish trade in the world.

The Italian Proverb says, "No wind can be fair to a foundering vessel;" but however, our enemies, or mistaken friends, may say, this is the case of Ireland; I hope if we once get her leaks

stopped, she may be so well refitted, and put in such good order, as to make many a saving voyage. In as poor a way as our trade and circumstances are at present, it is in the power of wise laws, and an honest management, to improve them in a few years. It is not very long since the trade of Holland grew from nothing to so vast a pitch, and we all know, that the very infancy of it in France began under the tendance and nursery of Richlieu and Colbert. Nay, even in England trade kept at a low ebb, and did not swell to any height till Queen Elizabeth's days, and even then the customs were farmed by the famous Smith (commonly called customer Smith) for 14,000l. and he petitioned to be released from the bargain. So that if we do not turn bankrupts by the madness of our extravagance for foreign things, and the wrong use we make of the blessings of our rich soil, we might be less neglected and unhappy than we are. God is peculiarly stiled "the God of the isles" in holy writ; but though we have such advantages from our situation, and numberless other circumstances, we seem to do all we can to thwart the designs of Providence, and make the ocean that surrounds us, and our fine ports, perfectly useless, or to serve only to impoverish us by the mismanagement of the greatest part of our trade, which is chiefly taken up in exporting our provisions. It is evident to common sense that this is employing our land, and reducing our merchants to the lowest way of profit they can be turned to; and yet our gentlemen are as well contented and pleased with it, as your poor Irish tenants are with their dirt, and rags, and potatoes. Who cannot see that there is vastly more gained by agriculture than pasture to the nation,

by manufactures than agriculture, and by merchandize than bare unexported manufactures. Of consequence, therefore, those nations who pasture most, must be poorest; next to them, those who only till the land, without manufacturing the produce of it; and those must be the richest who work up, and also export their manufactures to others. And yet our landlords are as jealous of tillage of all kinds, as if they thought it the blessing of Ireland, as, Isaiah* says, it would be of Judea, that "their cattle fed in large pastures." It is true, butchering our cattle is, indeed, better than butchering one another, as we did in 1641, and 1688; and yet, methinks the difference is not very great, when we starve and eat up our people by it. We carry out the food and victuals from our poor, and bring home wine for the rich; we export to our neighbours, or rather, our dangerous enemies, what they cannot help buying, and return loaden with their luxurious superfluities, which we do not want; nay, in the want of which we should be blest and happy, and which we purchase at the expence of the health of those who daily surfeit on them, and the very lives of the starving wretches, whose fasts and toils enable us to pay for them. Merchants may, possibly, with justice bear part of the blame of this excessive importation, but it is those who must and will have such things bought for their consumption, who are really in the fault, and who (above all are unpardonable in this, that) if they should employ our manufacturers, and buy what they work, they would enable them to purchase our fat cattle, and eat

* Chap. xxx. ver. 23.

up our beef, and send the superfluities of their labours, instead of their food, for the gold and bullion of other nations. But it is both the loss of the merchant and the poor natives, that there is such a dearth of public spirit this way; for if there was half the zeal shewn, to encourage our poor trades-folks, that there is to support our momentary diversions, our ridottos, music meetings, and plays, we should be a flourishing people; and till there is such a spirit, we must gradually dwindle and decline, till, at last, we shall have little to export to pay for our wine, &c. but our rags to Holland for paper, and our people for slaves to the West Indies. But our complaints must not end here; for as mischievous as these exportations are, we do not make near the profit of them which we might, by our not managing our beef, butter, &c. with the good faith and probity of honest men. How often have we slaughtered ill-conditioned cattle, as well as underaged, in despite of our laws, and sent both them and our butter so pickled, salted, and packed, that the very slaves in the Indies would not eat them, and in casks as faulty as the victuals that were barrelled up in them, to the loss of our credit, and the ruin of our trade. While there is business in the world the fair dealer will never fail of being employed to his advantage in it; but if the world was starving and naked, they would be as unwilling to send for our provisions or linens, while we cheat and defraud them, as one would be to employ noted thieves to quench the flames, or remove the goods, when an house is on fire. It is true, of late years these detestable frauds have been generally laid aside, and thereby our provisions have come in request, and got as much reputation as our linen; and, it

is to be hoped, all who deserve the name of merchants will, for their own sakes, as well as their country, take the utmost care, both as to quantity and quality, that whatever they send abroad is in the highest perfection possible. It would soon enlarge both the price and the demand for our commodities, and double our trade and our profit, if every one would watch over the goods of all kinds, which he exports to foreigners, with the same care he would for those he purchases for his own use, or sells to his friends and neighbours. This would be serving Ireland as well as their own families, and bring in a perpetual gain that would never be endangered by the momentary profit of little villainous cheats and frauds. We see in Holland if a child is sent to a shop to buy goods, he is as safe from being imposed on as the most experienced person; and it is those honest maxims that have enriched them, and which only can deliver us from that poverty which is too apt to run into tricks and shifts till it starves, like a knavish quack for want of a fool to practise his cheats on. But it is to be hoped there is less danger now from the abuses we have mentioned than ever. The common sense and common interest of the nation are united against them, and as the care of our magistrates, and the probity of our merchants, have joined in rooting out these vile practices, we need not fear the credit and honour of our country will ever suffer by this return. Let us therefore rest ourselves secure in this hope, and proceed to another RESOLUTION equally useful and necessary to the trade of Ireland, *viz.*

We resolve, as Irish merchants, both to discourage universally the infamous method of running of goods, and also by carrying on, and exporting, such manufactures as Great Britain has left open to us, to remove all suspicion of our rivalling her in the woollen trade.

As to the first article, it is of the last consequence to the public welfare, which is so far undermined, as we defraud it of those duties which are assigned by the laws for its defence and security; and though some merchants may be poor, and the duties, by being so high, seem to drive them to it (and the law, in some cases, pardons the stealing bread, where the thief is starving) yet this kind of theft is a sort of robbing the state, and plundering our neighbours, without relieving the criminal. Between the hazards that are run, and the damaging of the goods; between the high wages that are given those who assist and harbour them, and the bribes for concealment; between the low prices they are often forced to sell at, and the high fines they are liable to, and their losses when they are seized; it is certain where one man thrives, five are undone, by this wicked practice. Besides, we see in England a guinea a day is the common wages for a smuggler, by which means, it is with difficulty the farmers on the sea-coasts can get in their harvests; by which means this infamous running of goods proves a nursery both for idlers and thieves, as well as rebels against the laws of the land, and the common rights of the crown and the subject. It is not only a direct violation of a sort of public contract between every merchant and the nation, but it is ruinous to the fair trader, and conse-

quently destructive to that regulated commerce, which every well governed people establish among themselves. In a word, it is big with so many evils, that a wise legislature cannot be too severe in imposing penalties on it, nor can an honest merchant be too careful in resolving never to deserve them. As to the second article, the rivalling Great Britain in her woollen trade, it is as evidently our interest to avoid the least appearance of it as the first. Besides several other branches, she has left us the linen and hempen manufactures, which make us full amends for our loss of the other; and, indeed, though she has shut up this enclosure, she has left so wide a field open to us, that all the wealth we shall ever be masters of will never overstock it. There is still trade enough for us in the world abroad, and a wide extent for improvements at home, which may give us employment for our utmost industry. Will nothing serve us but this forbidden fruit, when so many other trees in the garden are left free to us, where we may range at pleasure, and cultivate and improve them to the fullest advantage. The truth is, if we calmly examine our complaints on this business, we shall find them equally vain, as they cannot help us, and unjustifiable, as they are contrary to reason and the nature of things. As we are, in effect, a colony from England, we must naturally be so far dependent on the mother nation as, at least, not to hurt or supplant those to whom we owe every blessing we enjoy. So that not only the laws of the land, but the laws of nature too, are against us, since they, to whom we are indebted for our religious and civil rights, for our defence and protection in every danger, have a right to prescribe to us in a point where they think their own prosperity is so

deeply concerned. We may complain, if we please, that such near relations should use us with so little kindness, but surely the younger brother ought not to grumble if the elder has the old estate of the family, and chargeable with all the debts too, when we have a good portion allowed us. What should hinder us to give our industry another turn, as well as many other nations in the world, who have no woollen manufactures among them, and above all, when this is, and ever has been, the chief source of the coldness and jealousy of England to us? They have shewn a friendly readiness to assist us in other methods of manufacture and trade that may be serviceable to both nations; and surely it is better to enrich ourselves by being useful to them, than beggar ourselves by hurting them. Besides, at bottom it will ever be found, that our interest and theirs are one and the same, and that hurting them, and helping their enemies, or rivals of their trade and power, is lessening their strength to defend, and encreasing that of our adversaries to hurt us. But as I have formerly touched on this subject, I shall not enlarge further on it, than to say, that we shall never find the want of this branch of our manufactures, (especially, if England should allow us hereafter such a share in it as will be to her profit and the ruin of her rivals) provided we make use of a number of advantages which we may employ all the force of our industry in. Let us therefore proceed to another RESOLUTION of the greatest importance to Ireland, if we will but unanimously and heartily concur in it, namely,

We resolve as Irish merchants, to do our utmost, if assisted by the legislature, to advance the traded navigation of Ireland, and to consider all possible ways and methods to encrease our shipping and sailors, and improve our manufactures.

By advancing the trade, the friends of Ireland can only mean those branches of it, that enrich their country and not those which impoverish it and prey on its vitals. As it is infinitely better to have no trade than a losing one, so those merchants who improve their substance by wasting importations, that consume the public wealth, are but a kind of legal robbers, who like the Arabs among the Turks, pay taxes to the government for a liberty to live under it by plunder. They only can be said to advance our trade, who encrease the exports of the kingdom, the produce of its fields, and the labours of its manufactures, but as to others, they do not deserve the name of merchants. Next to these they advance our trade most, who re-export our foreign importations to those countries, who want them, and thereby gain all the profit of the freight and other charges clear to our people. One great expedient to assist us herein will be to trade less by commission and more on our own bottom ; for as great part of our lands belong to absentees, so does a large share of our trade also, by which means the profit is much lessened to the nation. It would also be a great help to lessen the dead weight of our importations, if we took care to bring in those we can not want, as coals, grain, &c. with our own shipping and hands and so far save the carriage, which otherwise will ever be a great enhance-

ment of our charge. Much more would it advance our trade, if in time, we could become not only carriers for ourselves, but other countries also; and above all if we could succeed the English in the more laborious trade to the north, which they have forsaken for the warm suns and fair weather, and the more luxurious trade of the south. But nothing will assist our merchants more herein than reducing our interest (by slow degrees at least) to the Dutch or English standard. Mr. Fortray, Sir Thomas Culpeper, Josiah Child, and several others in England, and Mr. Dobbs in our own country, have proved this so fully that it is needless to enlarge upon it in this place. A poor nation as ours is with high interest on them, when they happen to be rivals in trade with a rich one, who pay only a low interest for all they traffic in, have the same disadvantage that the weakest horse has in a race, when he is obliged to carry the greatest weight, and therefore must constantly be distanced and beaten. By this account we must resign all trade, where the merchant can make but 8l. or 9l. per cent. for his money (as quite unprofitable under 6l. per cent. interest) to those who pay only three or four pounds per cent. for their money, which branches of trade, if our interest was reduced to a par, or near a par, with other nations, we might come in for a share of. As low interest would enable merchants to sell for less profit, and yet trade with more gain, so it must necessarily encrease their number, and that of all industrious traders and tradesmen; it will lighten their charges of all kinds in wages as well as wares, they might pay more for their goods here, and yet sell cheaper abroad, and in spite of the proverb, "live well on the loss." Low interest would force great sums into trade, which other-

wise would not maintain men by the bare interest, and as it would raise the purchase of lands, it would force people rather to improve than to buy them, and thus enlarge their produce, and thence make provisions plentier, and therefore cheaper. Had I room for it, these hints, and many others, would deserve to be enlarged on, but I hasten to mention another means to advance trade and navigation, and that is by encreasing the number of light houses on all places of our coasts, where they are most wanted. They are of such service to the poor despairing mariner in dark tempestuous nights, and so great a number of ships have been preserved by their means from absolute destruction, and are so frequently a safe-guard to the lives and fortunes of the usefulest members of the common-wealth, that we can never be too lavish in expences to provide our coasts sufficiently with them.

There is another particular, which might be applied under due regulations to the same good end, if ever we could hope to see it allowed us, and that is the establishing several free ports in the kingdom. But as I know there are some obstructions to them which are not easily got over, I shall not dwell on them any further, than to observe that I have found this expedient mentioned by Sir William Temple, in his essay on our trade, and also by one of our parliaments, (I think under one of the Harry's) in the preamble of an act relating to the customs, and therefore I thought it highly proper not to omit giving that hint to the reader.

Light customs also on our exports and most necessary and useful imports, and heavy ones on those that serve to vanity and luxury, would equally encrease our wealth and extend our navi-

gation, and if we had severe laws against all cheats and frauds in whatever relates to the quantity and quality of our exports, and indeed, in all matters of trade, it would conduce greatly to the same end.

Lastly, if foreign merchants were invited over and encouraged to settle here, by proper privileges and favours, and if the merchants of our own nation, were more respected and regarded by all ranks and degrees of men; if only merchants were chosen for the representatives of our chief sea-ports and trading cities, and two or three of the most eminent in the kingdom, as Sir William Temple advises, were so far distinguished as to be constant members of the privy council, it would produce considerable effects this way. And indeed it is odd to consider how our ancestors were often enriched and enobled for butchering and destroying their fellow subjects, while those who ventured their lives and fortunes in the noblest manner, for the happiness and welfare of their country by traffic, were slighted and disregarded as so many mechanics. We see in Italy and Holland, where merchandize is held highly honourable, it spreads and enlarges to a surprizing degree, so that even the noblest families in the first, and those who are at the head of affairs in the other, are so far from being ashamed of the profession, that they continue it through the course of their lives, and leave their business and their effects in trade to their sons, as we do our estates, so that with them merchants beget merchants as regularly as they do in China. By this means and the force of low interest, they never retire from business, to buy lands and turn country gentlemen, as we do, but die with their warehouses full, and their ships loaden, and

breed up even their wives and daughters to understand accounts and figures, and thereby make them as able to manage their affairs, and keep up all their foreign correspondence as themselves, of which we see few examples among our people.

If by such methods merchants would endeavour to extend our trade and navigation, they would soon encrease our shipping and sailors, as naturally as war officers do soldiers. It were to be wished indeed, we had a law to encourage our natives to betake themselves more to the sea, and that we had public schools to teach them the art of navigation gratis, which would do the nation more service than all the boarding, dancing and pushing schools (to say nothing of some of our sinecure free-schools) in it. I find Harry the VIIIth. and Queen Elizabeth, and even James the 1st. allowed a premium of 5l. per ton for all ships built in England of above 100 tons burthen; but in the act of the popish Irish parliament in 1689, that matter was carried much farther in this kingdom. That law allowed one eighth part of all duties and customs for the three first voyages to every Irish built ship, that was above 25, and under 100 tons, and the same privilege for the first four voyages to every ship here, that exceeded that burthen. Nay, by that act, all ship-wrights, mariners, rope-makers, and block-makers, &c. settling here, were freed from all cesses, taxes, watch and ward, and quartering of soldiers, and were declared free of all corporations were they resided. How far these encouragements, or such like, may be proper now, our legislature are the best judges, and to them we will leave them, and consider how our merchants, under proper advantages and

favour from the government, may be able to improve our manufactures.

And in the first place then, as with a little care in our agriculture, we could feed our people cheaper than any part of the earth except the East Indies, so if our merchants could once be prevailed on by due encouragement to build granaries, (as we hinted formerly) they would contribute greatly to the improvement of our manufactures, by keeping the market at one fixed, usual price, instead of fluctuating every season between dearths and abundance. But besides this they might by settling different branches of our linen business, in particular towns and districts, contribute as much to its improvement (as those incomparable papers the querist observe) as the English have done their woollen: and certainly, from the same reason that one nation exels in this or other kind of manufacture, namely by applying its chief industry that way, a particular town may arrive at the highest perfection of any single branch of it. We may make the same observation as to our silks also, either for our home consumption, or possibly in time to send abroad to our neighbours, at least as to our thread sattins, and such damasks and silks as we mix with cotton, or linen yarn, which our merchants might greatly improve by procuring the newest and finest patterns from France and Holland, until we get a little more skill in designing and drawing beautiful patterns in our own country.

In the next place our merchants might greatly advance our hempen manufactures, especially our sail cloths, for the use not only of the British navy, but the general consumption, in time, of the shipping of the three kingdoms. This

would be an incredible advantage to us, as it might employ many thousand of hands and looms in Munster and Connaught, and by that means make them as industrious, and consequently, in time, as populous as the north, and lessen their fondness for wool and pasture. They might also introduce that excellent Dutch custom of schools for breeding up the weakly and less robust boys (who are aptest to turn idle and thieves) to spin, and particularly that kind of yarn which is used in cambrics, and also breed them as the Dutch do, to be good weavers in half the time we do, by which means we might soon be able to work up the whole of our yarn (without exporting such vast quantities of it unmanufactured) into cloth, without any danger of over-stocking the market.

Our merchants might also be very serviceable to us, in teaching us to improve our manufactures, if in their voyages to and journies in foreign parts, they would carefully pry into the little arts and mysteries of those of our rivals there, and see by what methods and managements it is that they arrive at the perfection theirs are brought to. They should make it their main business either to bring over several of the manufactures themselves, or at least to learn every circumstance of the manner how they are wrought by them, and where the obstruction and defect lies, that prevents ours from excelling, or at least equaling theirs, and set down their observations in writing, and make their enquiries as cautiously and regularly, as they keep their accounts. They should take the same care as to any manufacture we are as yet unpractised in, which they conceive we might set up in this kingdom with success, and by

this means the knowledge and experience they would bring back to us would make us some amends for the wasteful importations they often destroy us by. I have sometimes thought had we funds or spirits to set about such an affair, we would do well to send a sensible merchant annually to travel at our expence barely, to bring home the best observations he could pick up in France, Holland, England, America, &c. and that many great advantages might attend it: but alas! we are poor and our poverty (which is worst of all) makes us cautious, and sleepy and dull. Yet certainly we might make this good use of those merchants, who go abroad on their own accounts, and in time, if this method were recommended to them and properly pursued by them, we should gain many lights and helps we want now.

We might also by their help in time regain the trade for our linens with our old friends and allies the Spaniards, who are fond of our people, especially if they once find us strictly punctual as to the exact breadth, length, fineness and whiteness of our cloths, and the faithful lapping of them without any frauds or impositions of any kind.

I shall mention but one particular more of a different nature, which our merchants may contribute greatly to the improvement of, and that is, our brewing in the best perfection possible, the finest and strongest mum, ale, and beer. If once we could come to rival Brunswick, Bristol, and Wales, in the strength and beauty of those liquors which are in so much request abroad, we might save what, to our shame, we import from them, and by their help once we get coals of our own, to boil them with, export great

quantities of them at reasonable rates to other nations, to the great encrease of his majesty's customs and the full encouragement of our husband-men.

But as our merchants may be still further useful to us, we will lay down another RESOLUTION of the highest consequence to us and them, *viz.*

We will endeavour as Irish merchants, if supported and assisted by the legislature, to form such societies, and set up such offices and introduce such new manufactures and methods of business, as may both direct, help and enlarge our foreign trade, and also enliven our inland commerce at home.

And first then we will begin with a public office of insurance of our houses and ships to be established in Dublin, on the same foot and with as sufficient securities for our narrow trade and buildings as the greatest office of that sort in London. Every one who knows any thing of the use and advantages of ensuring ships and houses, and the great sums it drains from us (to say nothing of the law-suits it often costs us) will wish to have some share of that expence confined to ourselves; and as proper ways and means may be easily laid out for such a fund and undertaking, it is to be hoped, we shall not long have this heavy drawback entailed on our traffic and buildings, paid to any other insurance but our own.

A society or board of trade would be another very useful engine, which they may employ for our benefit, which might be settled in Dublin, and have several subordinate societies in our chief trading towns and sea ports, which should

correspond regularly with it, in the same manner as those of France do with the council of trade at Paris. By these societies, measures should be jointly concerted for the removing all difficulties and obstructions in our commerce, to advise and direct our measures therein, and where they stood in need of remedies to propose proper ones to parliament, and guard against ill ones, where otherwise the cure may be worse than the disease. Such a board was actually set uphere in 1664, in the old Duke of Ormonde's time, and was of great service to us, and the benefits Great Britain has received from that established at London, is a sufficient argument, to make us wish for the same methods to be settled here.

There is another important point, in which, if all our merchants would unanimously join and petition the parliament, to address the king for it, we should probably succeed, and that is the establishing a mint in Ireland. The request would appear so reasonable, it is very unlikely it would miscarry, for it is certain all civilized nations use no other money but what they coin themselves, and regard all foreign money only as bullion, so that not only every kingdom in Europe; but even every free state and city in Germany, and what is more, several dependent provinces and governments abroad, (as Naples and Sicily when under Spain) have been allowed this privilege. We see Scotland had one before the union, and to say nothing of the Ise of Man, (which we cannot name on this subject without blushing) even several of our Irish bishops in the days of popery, and many of our cities and corporations before queen Elizabeth's days, were allowed to coin money here. It is therefore improbable it can be refused to the whole nation

now, if it be once properly addressed for, since it cannot hurt Great Britain, and must be of advantage to the crown as well as the kingdom. It is plain the want of it produces many grievances here, and stagnates our affairs and business to a great degree; and is the great source that occasions the perpetual fluctuation of the value of the little money we have; and by the keeping it arbitrary and undetermined, makes it of less use and service to us. Since it is impossible to think of reducing the value of our coin in Ireland to that of England, or at least for a great many years, (for to be sure if we could do that we should not want a mint) we have no other safe and effectual method to relieve us but a mint. This would regulate all the wild discord of our foreign coins, and blend them into a regular proportioned mass for the service of the public, and would be of great advantage several ways, if I could dwell on them, to our nation and its trade. We should only pay for the manufacture to our own people, and if we were allowed merely to coin shillings, six-pences and three-pences, we should find our account in it, by keeping those at least at home for the use of our people, and especially if, without diminishing the pure silver in those smaller coin, we may increase the allay, and their size and hardness, as the Dutch and the Danes, &c. do, for at present by constant use they wear so fast and so thin, that (besides their want of value) in time they will be in danger of being blown away with the wind.

The court merchants of Holland, as they are described by Mr. Roberts, Mr. Nun, Sir Josiah Child, and Mr. Dobbs, would be another excel-

lent society, to remove the excessive burthen of lawsuits, in matters of trade, which are finally and summarily determined there, by a dozen of eminent merchants, annually chosen and elected among themselves. This method cuts off all the expence and chicanery of law, and the vexation from litigious or knavish men, and has been found by long experience there, of such great service, that we can never be too zealous for obtaining and settling it here. They are vested there with as absolute a power as our Lord Chancellors, and though appeals are allowed from them to the judges, it is under a penalty of treble costs, in case the appellant has sentence past against him a second time.

The Dublin Society when incorporated by a charter, and strengthened by subscriptions or rather a fund from the parliament, may also be made subservient to many great and useful purposes of our merchants and trade, as well as our husbandry, and may further our commerce both at home and abroad. As its members are considerable for their numbers, fortunes, and understandings, their advices must naturally have great weight in the nation, and (besides other points) if they would once enter on the subject of our trade, it might have very happy consequences. They might thus, by publishing their weekly papers at half the usual price, and printing them by volumes at a much lower rate, disperse many thousands of them through the body of the people, as well as our gentry, to our merchants great advantage, so that no article in which our country and trade are intrusted, might be left unexplained, or unimproved, to the information and encouragement of all among us.

But the last expedient of this nature which I

shall hint is, that which above all others our merchants might make use of to the prosperity of trade, and the happiness of this kingdom, if once it were established by law, I mean a well regulated bank, as proposed by those excellent papers the Querist.

The novelty of this most useful proposal, (though it is as old as Mr. Potter's proposal, and Mr. Hartlib's * legacy ; and Sir William Petty's †writings, to say nothing of Mr. Lamb's, and Captain Yarrington's, which is so near a kin to theirs) may possibly startle inexperienced people ; but besides this, as it is also to be feared, many others from private views and interests, may infuse jealousies against it, I will therefore set down several reasons here, why every merchant, nay every man who wishes well to Ireland, must necessarily desire its establishment, as the best and safest remedy for all our ailments.

And first, then every friend of our country must wish for it, because such a national bank, modelled by the wisdom of our legislature, and secured by the public faith, must have as sure and as extensive a credit, and as firm a foundation, as any other bank now in the world. Secondly, because as we see the wonderful effects that the national banks of Venice, Hamburgh, and Amsterdam, (and let us, though it is on a different foot, join the bank of New England with them) have on their trade, so we ought to assist our country by such ways and means, as we see have so greatly enriched them. Thirdly, because not only our people and merchants have ever wished for one, but our House of Commons

* P. 289. † P. 122, his Political Survey, and p. 125 and 73.

in 1720, unanimously voted that a bank on a solid foundation, and under proper regulations may be of advantage to this kingdom; and though the bill for a bank of a very different nature from this was afterwards thrown out of the house, yet it was only from gentlemen disliking the foundations and regulations then proposed, and their fears of the engrossing power and interest of the directors, none of which objections can be against the national bank on the proposed model. Fourthly, because we can secure all the good consequences, that must necessarily attend such a bank, and effectually guard ourselves both when it is made, and every subsequent sessions by new acts, against every possible ill one, which may be feared from it. Fifthly, because it is utterly impossible for us and our merchants to subsist without banks, nor with private banks without perpetual danger to the subject's property and the public welfare, we may by a national one have all their convenience without any even the smallest hazard; liable to no runs from the security of its foundation, and obnoxious to no mismanagements by the care of our legislature and the directors they appoint, by balloting, to inspect and manage it. Sixthly, because it will in effect double our specie, and thereby considerably sink the interest of money, and consequently raise the value and purchase of lands, encrease their produce by improvement, and thereby multiply our provisions without enhancing their price, and at the same time put our merchants and traders on an equal foot with any other nation. Seventhly. because though it will thus effectually assist our trade and traders, it will be without the least interfering with those of Great Britain, who gain considerably by our

manufactures, and receive and ever will receive all the redundancy of our wealth in Ireland. Eighthly, because it will not only double our money, but also treble our industry (the sole foundation of national wealth) by enlarging our business, and cause such a quick circulation of our cash, or, which is the same thing, of its notes, as will make it equivalent to four times our present specie. Ninthly, because as for want of credit much of the little money we have still lies dead, and for want of sufficient trade, less comes into the nation, such a bank will so enliven the one and enlarge the other, as will put every wheel in motion, and every hand at work, and so encrease our manufactures, as to turn the balance of trade entirely in our favour. Tenthly, because we want ready money and such a method of supplying credit, more than any other nation in the world, and are in perpetual danger of losing what we have, if any such accident should attend our bankers, as of late years we have so terribly felt and seen. Eleventhly, because the notes of such a bank, (never minted but by order of Parliament) founded on, and fenced in by our laws with proper funds, and the whole weight of our national credit for its support, must have infinite circulation beyond those of private banks, as not liable to frauds or breaking, and have all advantages over coin, as more portable, transferrable, less liable to theft or loss, and easier recovered, as being entered in the books of the bank, and payment can be stopped on due notice. Twelfthly, because as the notes of this or indeed any bank, (as a bank) never are or can be a cause of lessening our specie, which is occasioned entirely by the balance of trade being against us, so we shall both preserve every shilling we

now have, and perpetually encrease our ready cash, in proportion as the credit of our bank enlarges our manufactures and exportations of all kinds. Thirteenthly, because we may thus with the greatest ease pay off our national debt, and save our interest, and at the same time, those of private families can be easier relieved by the borrowing money at a low rate at the bank, and discharging it as they find convenient, by small separate payments, than they can now when they must pay their principal at once, and an heavy interest besides. Fourteenthly, because all the vile arts of stock-jobbing will carefully be prevented by proper limitations, and all the inconveniences attending other banks, (as issuing too many notes, engrossing monopolies, and enriching private men at the expence of the public) will effectually be fenced against. Fifteenthly, because our national bank is not in its management to be secret and mysterious, to conceal private loans, or a clandestine traffic with other men's money, but is to be open to constant and regular examinations, and attended by proper managers and clerks, whose characters and security are to be equally unquestionable. Sixteenthly, because as the Parliament is to make good every deficiency, any fund will therefore be sufficient to answer the demands made on, or the credit given to it by others, and consequently a proper one may easily be raised for it without burthening the nation. Seventeenthly, because a very useful adequate fund may be settled for it by a tax on the follies of our dress, equipage and furniture, and the madness of our luxury, and we shall therefore encrease our wealth by lessening our extravagancies, as well as enlarging our trade. Eighteenthly, and lastly, because as there

can be no shares, trade or dividends in it, all its profits are solely to redound to the public, and a large share of these profits will be employed in setting up such kinds of manufactures, as we want, and can hardly hope to see settled here without some such public assistance and encouragement to establish them.

And thus having dispatched this subject, though in a manner infinitely inferior to the greatness of the design, and the honour due to its author, I shall now proceed to such new manufactures or methods, as our merchants may employ, to the enlarging our foreign trade.

And the first I shall touch on, is that of our tapestry, which we have already begun with so much success and honour to those who have undertaken it; and certainly if our nobility and gentry would be so just to their country as to encourage the managers of it, by adorning their houses with this beautiful ornament of our Irish looms, we should see a surprizing progress made in it in a few years. We might then bring it to that height as not only to beautify our own dwellings with it, but by the assistance of our merchants, to bring over such good designers and artists from abroad, as might enable us to work enough of it, for their exportation to our neighbours in Great Britain, who pay so largely for it to foreigners.

But besides these, there is another kind of hangings they might set up here, which, as well as our screens, is extremely beautiful and lasting, I mean that of gilt leather. This is much cheaper, and yet very little inferior to the other, and is a manufacture so easily understood, and may be so soon brought to perfection, that probably with some reasonable encouragements, we might

in a little time see this made a gainful branch of our exportations, if our merchants would heartily fall into it. And now we have mentioned the article of leather, let us observe here that our glove trade might become much more considerable than we have made it, by our indolence, or poverty, or both together. Our workmen are allowed by all to make them up in a neater manner and of a finer sort of skins, than most of our neighbours, and instead of exporting the skins, with due care we might send abroad tenfold the quantity of gloves we do both to Europe and the West Indies. We may say the same of our shoes, boots, and buckskin breeches, all which we make to great perfection, and yet have little benefit from them, but what we get at home, though beyond question by due management and industry, we might make every one of these turn to good account to the nation.

The next article I shall mention is that of flowered carpets, which we have of late attempted and carried to an unexpected height already; and really if we go on to improve and cultivate them as we have done, it is to be hoped our neighbours in Great Britain will cover their floors with them, as commonly as they do their beds with Irish linen, and thereby keep our wool from the looms of Holland and France, for our own workmen here.

Paper is another manufacture that we might easily nurse up here, not only to the saving us several thousand pounds every year, which we send to Holland for it, but if our merchants would heartily engage in it, we might make enough of it for the market in England. There is a prodigious quantity imported there, both from Holland and Italy, which we might be very

welcome to come in for a share of, if we did not carry it on with such narrow funds, and weak hands as we do. But as our parliament has lately generously assisted Mr. Slator in the infancy of this manufacture here, it is to be hoped he will deserve further encouragement hereafter, by making greater improvements than ever. In the mean time, as our booksellers and stationers are now furnished with Irish paper, it is to be hoped all our gentlemen as well as our clerks and offices, will give their assistance to this useful undertaking, by calling for and using no other.

Our earthen ware is another article, which costs the nation near 5000l. per ann. and which we have several times made very promising attempts in, both at Arklow, and near Dublin, &c. but alas! for want of encouragement from the public, and those premiums which are employed by all wise states, to nurse up their infant manufactures, they have not had the success they deserved, at the same time it is most certain that a small annual allowance, would have secured the flourishing and establishment of that business among us, with which trifling expence for a few years we had saved the nation 5000l. per ann. for ever, and enabled her in time to have exported a good quantity to our neighbours. This manufacture has of late been set up again here, and as every Irishman is in honour and interest obliged to support it, it is to be hoped it will be able to stand its ground, and, in time, deserve the encouragement and assistance of our legislature.

Fine threads, lace, and cambrics are manufactures which cost us great sums every year to foreigners, and which, if proper funds could be assigned them, we might improve, and work enough of, to send abroad to our great advantage.

But the truth is, the miserable pittance allowed our trustees, as we formerly observed, is so disproportioned to any extensive design of this nature, that until that is enlarged, we must be content, as the proverb says, " to creep where we cannot go," to the infinite loss of the kingdom. Had they assignments equal to the province they have undertaken, and the care and honesty with which they have managed it, we might hope for their bringing over the best artists from Holland and Flanders, and making vast improvements in these and many other things; but, in the mean time, in this pinching winter of our trade, for want of a little honey to feed the hive, thousands of our industrious bees are starved, who would otherwise make us large returns for our bounty.

Our mines are another great improvement, which we also neglect for want of proper laws and encouragements to work them, and which our merchants might manage to the great advancement of our trade, if our legislature would assist them in it; and, indeed, their assistance is not only necessary for enabling and encouraging us to open and work up such mines as shall hereafter be discovered, but also to oblige those to work them, or forfeit their bargains, who have already taken leases of many of our mines, and for their own ends and designs pay a dead rent for them, to keep them useless to us, though not to themselves and their private interest. This is all I shall say on this particular affair, and as to our mines in general, Mr. Dobbs has spoke so well and so fully on the subject, that I shall content myself with just hinting it to the reader, and only touch on one branch of them, our collieries.

If the generous assistance, which the parliament hath given Mr. Boyd for the making an harbour to serve the colliers of Ballycastle, has the designed effect, as I hope it will, and the canal from Lough Neagh to Newry be once finished, we shall probably find extraordinary advantages from them. But we should not content ourselves with the benefit of bringing our own coals to Dublin, but our merchants might easily, and with good profit, raise a fund there for laying in a great stock of them, when they are cheap, to furnish the poor with at a low rate, and in small quantities, in winter, allowing none above one barrel at a time. This would be of great service to enable the manufacturers to work cheap, and prevent those extortions they used to groan under on this account. We have some reason to hope, that the coal from the pits, not many miles from the river Barrow, might, with some moderate expence be carried down that river to Waterford, and come very cheap to Dublin; and in such case we might in time, not only furnish ourselves with our own coals, but even export them to Holland at high prices, especially when their turf fails them, as it must in some years. But, at least, we may have Irish, and by that means, English coals (if we want them) also, so reasonable, that we may certainly set up salt-pans and works at much lower charges than we formerly could, and lessen the prodigious sums we pay for that commodity every year. We may make the same use of the low rates of our coals in setting up glass houses, and thereby sink that large branch of our importations for bottles, drinking glasses, phials, &c. immediately, and for window, coach, and looking glasses also in process of time, not only for our own consumption, but, possibly,

for our neighbours. It is therefore highly incumbent on us to push forward the perfection of the canal of Lough Neagh, and the harbour of Ballycastle, as two designs of the greatest importance to this kingdom, and which, under due management, and the generous assistance of the parliament, may be of the highest advantage to our trade and manufactures of all kinds, as some of them cannot be carried on without great plenty of firing, and all of them will be helped by cheap, and especially, Irish firing, wrought and navigated by ourselves.

I might go on to observe, that our merchants would make a considerable article in our exports, if more care was taken, and encouragement given to several branches of our manufactures in iron, brass, and copper, and to exporting hats, and also to our rape-mills and oil, and the shipping off soap, candles, and, above all, our grain; if once we were so happy as to see granaries established among us, and our tillage improved, in such a manner, as to enable us to feed our poor at a reasonable price, which might encourage the plough, and sell to our neighbours, when an high market (as we formerly observed) invited the carriage. But I have spoke enough on most of these things, and I will not over-load the subject, and so let us pass on to consider how our merchants and dealers of all kinds may be enabled to enliven our inland commerce. And the main engine that can be employed to this end, is, by the assistance of the legislature, to obtain more effectual laws and helps for opening canals, in fit situations, for the cheaper conveyance of all kinds of wares to the best markets, which may do us more service than the great canal of the sea, which hitherto, as it has been managed, has

done us almost as much harm as good. If we would make our rivers navigable, and open great cuts through many of our vast bogs, we might join the most distant parts of the kingdom, and bring the produce of their fields or their looms to our best towns and sea-ports. This would spread industry through every corner, beget business, and enliven trade in every remoter village of our provinces, and by circulating our coin, make it as useful as if it were actually encreased by this domestic traffic. As carriage is the great and mighty clog to trade in many of our counties, this would reduce the high price of transporting our goods from one part of the country to the other; and, until this is done, we must be content to see our lands lie untilled, for want of roads and rivers to carry out our grain, and our best soils neglected, or just grazed with cattle, that require no carriage, but can go with their own beef and tallow to the market.

We should therefore highly encourage every feasible undertaking to make the great lakes and rivers of Ireland navigable, and thereby useful to our country, which, otherwise, they water in vain. We should begin with those attempts which are of most use, and have the least difficulty in them, and such, especially, which lead to our largest towns and sea-ports of greatest trade as Dublin, Cork, Wexford, Waterford, Limerick, Belfast, and Drogheda. This would take off the huge expence of our miserable land carriage by wheel cars, and save us above 50l. or 60l. per cent. and, at the same time, it might be accomplished by a light, imperceptible expence, and even at a lower rate than we pay yearly for our cars and garrons for trailing our goods from town to town, which has been computed to 200,000l. per ann. Every

one knows that the dearness of carriage is a main draw-back to all commerce; and we see the good effects the saving of this by numbers of canals in France and Holland has produced as to their trade, how much it and their wealth have been advanced by it, and their towns, land, and people improved. We have already observed that the canal to Newry deserves the highest care, in the first place, of our parliament and people to watch over it, and whatever may retard it; but, certainly, that of the Liffey to Dublin has the next claim to their attention, as it would contribute effectually to the supplying that huge market with necessary provisions, and might also save great sums to us, by furnishing the city both with Kilkenny coal and turf from the vast bog of Allen: and, indeed, as that bog runs from within half a mile of the Liffey, near Landin's-town, in the county of Kildare, to the very banks of the Shannon, through that vast flat of ground, which at present is useless and lost; and, as by cutting one large canal through it, we might join those two rivers; and, as the ingenious Mr. Brown observes, with the help of two or three locks, at a small expence, make one of the noblest inland navigations in Europe, and also drain and recover all that unprofitable ground, it is to be hoped no former miscarriages of this kind will hinder its being one day brought into execution. The navigation of the Shannon, if it were once vigorously and effectually carried on, and the cutting a canal from Lough Erne to the sea-port of Ballyshannon, would be two undertakings of vast advantage to our inland commerce; and, indeed, the last would be so feasible, and have such effects on that part of the kingdom, that it cannot long be overlooked. There are in the provinces of Mun-

ster and Connaught many opportunities lost o this kind for improving our inland commerce, which the wisdom of our legislature may one day remedy. But we shall not insist on this matter at present, but proceed to two other methods which our legislature might assist our merchants in, to the increase of the inland trade, though they are very much inferior to that we have just mentioned.

The first is, the increasing the number and extent of our turnpike roads in every part of the kingdom that wants them, and is able and willing to bear their expence. I need not dwell on so evident a thing as the use they are of to trade, and how much they contribute to make our coin circulate in the extremities of the nation, where it is used to stagnate whenever it was carried thither; but I hope, as every one is convinced of the service they do us, where they are made so, no one will oppose their being settled where they are not yet established.

The other method I would mention relates to our post offices, which, in two particulars might contribute much to the service of our inland commerce. The first is, to oblige our posts, by law, to come in and go out as nearly as possible (storms, floods, and other accidents excepted) at certain hours. It is true, such hours are appointed by the post-master general; yet, in winter time especially, through the carelessness of the post-masters, the idleness of the post-boys, bad horses, and sometimes even the want of horses, it is strange how like drunkards they turn day into night, and night into day; by this means much time is lost, and business miscarries, or the notice from our correspondent comes too late to be observed; and as not only trade,

but the life and fortune of thousands among us sometimes may depend on such moments, it would do well to fix the hours by law, with a penalty on each post-master of 5s. before any two justices, and whipping the boy if he falls short by two hours of his time, without shewing good cause. The other particular relates to the hardship which much the larger part of the kingdom lies under, in having but two post-days in the week, by which means business and trade is greatly retarded, to the great damage of the nation, and the discouragement of merchants, and, consequently, his majesty's revenue. If the post office can bear the expence, they should be obliged to send posts thrice a week to all the kingdom, and if they cannot, they should be enabled to do it; or at worst, a third penny more on every letter would fully answer the additional trouble, and the advantage from it would be a thousand fold greater to our people.

And thus I shall dismiss this subject, and let us now go on in the last place to consider ourselves in another circumstance of life, of the last importance to our country, and in which many gentlemen of the best fortunes and understandings in it are always concerned, and that is as members of parliament.

I am sensible there are an infinite number of things, which, though very proper to be brought under this article, are by no means fit for a private person to handle, and therefore I shall only venture to touch on a few particular points, where the trade and welfare of our country are immediately interested, and want the assistance of our legislators to promote them.

And methinks the first RESOLUTION we should lay down as such is this, *viz.*

We resolve, as members of parliament, that we will promote such sumptuary laws, as will be most conducive to reform the manners of our people, by fencing against luxury and vanity in the better sort, and securing sobriety and frugality in the lower.

I have already, on different occasions, observed upon the excessive growth of luxury and vanity among us; but as melancholy as the subject is, it is impossible to speak of Ireland and not return again and again to the same complaint. But once for all, if some stop be not put to it, or some change in our sentiments and manners be not brought about by the examples of the great, or proper laws and regulations to restrain our follies, our case is desperate, and we must be undone. If nothing else will cure this madness in our extravagancies of all kinds, our wretched comfort must be, that our poverty at last will be a sure remedy, and, in spite of the proverb, we may then begin to spare when we have little or nothing to spend. We may then fall into a regular economy, and a scorn of affected splendour and false pleasures, and grow more in love with a just simplicity of manners, and that contented retirement in our own country, which is the best foundation of public virtue, as well as private peace and happiness. We may then learn so much political arithmetic as to compute the difference between providing for the ease and support of ourselves and children

by a frugal and wise management of our income, to the improvement of our own estates and fortunes where we reside, and the spending the whole of our revenue, besides loading it with debts, and servilely dangling after courts and imaginary posts and employments, which, when they are got by some lucky man, will be found to have cost him near twenty years purchase, (for which he might have bought as much good rent in land) and yet after all, must also be attended with many additional and unavoidable expences and fopperies in our way of living. A just way of thinking on these important points was, indeed, the great ornament and blessing of old times, less improved and refined, but quite undisturbed by the affections of modern pride at home, or rambling abroad after great men, or, sometimes, merely to bring home foreign luxury, fashions, and follies.

I have formerly touched on the wasteful excess of our tables and house-keeping, and therefore I shall say nothing on it here, and shall, at present, only take notice of two other great articles which want most to be remedied, our itch for gaming, and our passion for fine, that is, foreign cloths.

The first of these is grown so necessary to our entertainments, after an elegant dinner especially that, it is generally thought it is one of the best expedients some of our fine people have to enable them to pay for it, and is frequently accompanied with such cheating and sharping, such complaints and heart-burnings, and sometimes quarrels and duels about it, that honest people would be ashamed of it. It is a just observation, that gaming is only fit for those who have great fortunes, or those who have none, which

last one would suppose is the chief title we have to plead, in this country, for our universal and constant practice of it, among most of our pretty fellows. But this fashionable plague of good sense and good manners has spread in England from the men to the fair sex, to the utter banishment of all economy and care of their families and children, and too often of their modesty, innocence, and honour. This, it is to be hoped, is never the case with us, and we should take care that it never shall; for it is certain, where women are fond of playing deep, it looks as if they were resolved to venture all; and it is terrible to think how far the estate or honour of a family may be endangered, where ill fortune and bold gamesters meet together as they often do. In such cases, the punishment they bring on themselves, by ruining their reputation, is worse than even that of Japan, where it is death by the law; and yet, with all its ill consequences, the fashion in other countries goes on, though honour, health, good humour, and, what is dearer than them all, even their beauty is often ruined by their ill luck and ill hours. How far severe laws and heavy taxes might remove this ruinous evil among our neighbours, or with us, if ever it visits us, I cannot say, but certainly we have enough of it already to make us resolve, where the husband wants inclination or authority to reform it, the laws should interpose, and if there must be gaming, they would do well to appoint the nation the box-keeper, and make our manufactures thrive by our follies.

The dress of most men among us is another article, the excess of which calls for regulation as much as the other, and makes one look with envy on the old antiquated statutes of England,

where the price and fineness of every one's habit was settled according to their condition in the world, under severe penalties. Of late days there is hardly an actor on the stage more dressed above his true fortune and means than many of our fine gentlemen, at least, are, and with this shocking difference, that the actors generally play the parts of foreigners, and are dressed in our Irish manufactures; but our young beaux pretend to be natives of Ireland, and are tricked out in all the gaudy frippery of France, Italy, and every country that preys on our vitals and the bread of our manufacturing poor.

The sums we lay out for such things with other nations are a vast drain upon us, and consume our substance beyond all belief or remedy, and without some tax on these wasteful fashions, our poor must go naked in order to clothe us, and the good weavers in France, &c. But, as I have touched on this subject formerly, as to our ladies, I shall say the less on it now as to our men, and shall only remark, that all degrees and orders of people, among us, are quite undistinguished and confounded, by the universal licence which every one is allowed of dressing above his circumstances and fortune. This ends, sooner or later, in the ruin of an infinite number of families, who are thus undone by their excess and extravagance; and, as this wasteful expence is also generally spent in foreign manufactures, it is as hurtful to the nation too, and, on both accounts wants the same remedies our fore-fathers applied to it, good, wholesome, sumptuary laws. Our young gentlemen are grown so immeasurably lavish in this matter, that not only their rings, their

watches, their canes, their swords, nay, their coaches, their saddles, and their horses, &c. are never thought sufficiently fine, or fashionable, unless they send abroad for them. They must have foreign velvets to complete their dress, and have so highly improved their taste for elegance herein, that, it is to be feared, in time they will not confine themselves only to silks for their waistcoats and linings, but they will generally use damasks and paduasoys for clothes instead of Irish broad cloths Gold, and silver lace, and plate buttons are another kind of fashionable trumpery which our pretty fellows, and, especially, our very pretty fellows, think they cannot in reason and conscience be denied. Now, though we supposed them all wrought at home, which is by no means true, yet they are such a vast consumption of the little specie we have, and productive of so many other extravagancies, that we may venture to say, we had better be without them, if it could be done so as not to disgust gentlemen, who are equally the glory and ornament of their country. And yet, possibly, we may hope to get this great point agreed to by them, for we see they are so good as to lay aside both that sort of finery and their beloved fine lace ruffles, and cravats, too, (which are also so very expensive to us) both in the case of public and private mourning; and, if the whole nation would go in mourning for their country for seven years, it would do us more good this way than all their detestable finery. But let us quit this painful subject and proceed to another reform, that is wanting in the manners of our people, and that is, sobriety and frugality in the lower sort of men.

I have, in another place spoke enough on these points as to the rich, if there be any in this

unhappy, neglected country, who really deserve that name, and therefore I shall confine myself to those who are (and cannot possibly conceal that they are) poor. It is a melancholy reflection how much these nations, and especially Ireland, is over-run with that hideous vice, drunkenness, though it is of so late a date in these parts of the world, that there was no statute to make it any ways punishable in England until queen Elizabeth's time. But though, at present, this vice is wove into the constitution of the state, and made necessary to our establishment by means of the excise, yet the harm it does by debauching our people, and ruining whole families of our poor, and decreasing our manufactures in their goodness and quantity, is incredible. And how can it be otherwise, while the number of our ale-houses is so prodigious, kept by the idlest of the people, who hate labour and business, just to entertain those who are as idle and lazy as themselves. It is here our manufacturers, in spite of the proverb, often make two Sundays meet together, and, after swilling down the maintenance of their families, make themselves unwilling, or unable, to return to their labour, and earn a little bread for their children. As these houses are allowed by law for the ease and lodging of travellers, they should be very fineable if any one gets drunk in them; and if, along with this, drunkenness was made as punishable as it was in Cromwell's sober days, we should see our manufactures, and those who work them, in a better state than they are. There is therefore a necessity that some law be made to force our people to greater sobriety, that they may work to eat, and eat to work and feed their families, or otherwise we may shut

up shop, and bid good night to our manufactures, it being impossible they can thrive and come to good markets abroad; while our people spend so much, and work so little, and our rivals spend so little, and work so hard. If in tenderness to the excise we cannot reduce the incredible number of our alehouses, we ought at least to raise the price of the licence; and to regulate their conduct, that they may not be the ruin of our poor tradesmen and servants, and the corrupters of our people's manners, and (as they generally are) the nest of thieves, and idlers, and sharpers, and both as to those who keep them, and those who frequent them, the refuge of every rogue who has an aversion to all labour and industry.

Our taverns also want much to be reformed, and the more, as even our tradesmen (to say nothing of others) if they get a little substance, are apt to shew they are got above ale-drinking, and have business enough to enable them to pay vintners for their wine, and thus increase their expence, as their credit and dealing enlarge, and sometimes as it sinks, in order to forget or conceal it. It is common enough in all countries, for men who are idle and rich, and incapable of doing good to others or themselves, to run into these houses to waste their time, and their money, as well, and as fast as they can; but it is peculiar to Ireland, that even men of business and trade affect to run into these destructive extravagancies, to the ruin of their substance and credit as well as of our country. It would help to lessen this pernicious custom, if an heavy tax were laid on all wine taverns as our happier ancestors called them, and as this would make our people more frugal and sober,

so it would lessen that deluge of French wine and brandy which has sunk our nation, and at once wasted our wealth and debauched our people.

Let us add to all this, if it may be said without offence that the discipline of our laws against whoredom and adultery, is not only extremely defective but very much relaxed, through the frequency of the crime, and the difficulty that attends their putting them in execution. It is therefore highly requisite to enforce the laws in those points, by adding to them severe penalties and easier remedies, and especially to make the detection of houses of evil fame, and the punishment of the wretches, who consume and debauch our youth there, more easy to the magistrate, and more penal to the offender. The debauching of young women and the maintenance of bastards, are two things, which there is little or no provision made for by our present laws, and what an influence this has on the corrupting our morals, and peopling us with wretches abandoned by their parents, and left to starve in their infancy, or rob and steal if they grow up, will well deserve to be considered by those, whose province it is to deliver us from such destructive evils. But I will not enlarge too far on a subject so generally overlooked, and neglected, and shall therefore proceed to lay down another RESOLUTION of great consequence to this kingdom; and that is,

We resolve as members of Parliament, to remedy by all possible ways and means in our power, that great obstruction to the prosperity of this nation, the want of hands.

It is a self evident truth that all kingdoms, are more or less considerable in proportion to the numbers of their subjects, and though industry is a main point to encrease their value, yet where numerous bodies of men can be had, wise states will easily provide means and methods to secure their industry, and their being numerous is a mighty help to it. We are very defective in both these particulars in Ireland, and it will want all our care to find out proper remedies for them. It is probable the race of men will last as long as the world itself will, but if some helps and encouragements be not given to our people, I will not maintain that this will hold true of Ireland, for as things go on, it may become an uncultivated desart in time, inhabited by nothing but beasts, and savages. The increase of numbers in kingdoms depends on manufactures entirely, by which alone they can be provided with the necessaries of life; for what the earth produces without the improvement of manufacture, can only maintain such a limited number of men; and when that proportion is exceeded, by an encrease of their children, those children must starve when grown up, or else find out manufactures at home, or go abroad, where they are, to get food and raiment by them. If therefore our small and few manufactures decline, as without better encouragement they are like to do, our numbers, thin peopled as we are, must sink with them, and leave us every day with fewer hands than ever. And we see in fact, this is so by the crowds that of late years, are gone off to our colonies abroad; besides numbers that go in search of wages and labour to England: nor is this all the evil, for of the few hands we have, at least four-fifths are Papists, and this sad disproportion is likely every

day rather to enlarge than lessen, for as I have formerly observed, our Protestants do not marry young, but they wait for a tolerable portion, and some settlement to live easy on; whereas, the Papists are careless as to wealth and portion, and will have wives, let them be maintained how they will. To this humour we owe three-fifths of our numbers, and the quick supplies of all our losses by famines, banishments, (I mean under Cromwell, and at the revolution) and rebellions, and as humours and customs influence nations as much as their laws, we must, in an age or two, be infinitely out-numbered, by the native Irish, if due care be not taken, to encourage Englishmen to transplant themselves hither, or to make our Irish perfect Englishmen, in their manners, religion and language. Sir William Petty proposed, to prevent this disproportion, and all future rebellions from it, by a transplantation and exchange of natives between the two kingdoms, and so to have embodied us into one people by degrees, and had it been practised, or practicable, it had certainly produced great effects by this time, though probably our acts against Popery, and the advantage and prevalence of English customs, may do the work as well, and more easily now. In the meantime, while our laws are operating slowly and surely on our opinions and manners, let us consider what are the most feasible methods we can make use of to encrease our numbers, and, let us then contrive how to employ them.

And in the first place then as to our numbers, it would certainly encrease them if celibacy were discountenanced, and marriages were duly encouraged, and whoredoms and adultery as we observed already, severely and exemplarily punished by our laws. We see the Switzers discourage

celibacy so much, that no batchelor is capable of any trust or employment among them; and if among us none but married men were allowed to take a lease longer than seven years, or to be at age till five and twenty, with two or three other such restrictions, it would produce great effects this way. There should be premiums also allowed to poor men, who have ten children alive, and but two hearths, or less, to be exempted on the justices certificates from hearth-money, and all small tythes, and from being constables (and if desired) church-wardens, sidesmen, jurymen, and such like privileges, and also to be free of any corporation where they chuse to reside. We see how much the Romans by the *Lex Julia & Papia*, and the *Jus trium Liberorum*, encouraged their people to marry, and at this day in Rome there is a law, which exempts all from such and such taxes, who have (I think it is) ten living children, which privilege is written in gold letters over their door for their honour, as I have been assured by eye-witnesses. If we had a law to allow benefit of clergy (where it is not allowed at present) to all who had seven or eight children living, except in very heinous cases, and to allow them transportation, I am persuaded it would have no ill consequences, and might help to encrease our births. We see in France how much they are indebted for their numbers to the law, that allows no married man to be forced to list in the armies, by which means they marry very early and swarm with breeders, and I could easily name a law which with a privilege of like import, would produce as early marriages here.

And now I am upon the subject of encreasing our births, I will mention another particular which will conduce extremely to preserving their lives,

when they come into the world, and that is to lay a tax on all hired nurses, of at least 2l. per ann. unless oath be made by the mother, that she is *bona fide* not capable of nursing her child herself. The inconveniencies of those hired nurses are great and weighty; by their carelessness and want of natural affections and due regard to the health of infants, it is too well known to all parents how many are lost and distempered with coughs, decays and rickets, and worse diseases, and often poisoned with bad milk, or maimed by falls and over-laid by heavy sleepers, or drunkards. Nor is this all, for if the child of the rich is so used, to be sure the infant of the hired nurse comes off as ill, or worse if possible, and I believe I may say with truth, one half of these unhappy creatures have their lives absolutely sacrificed to the wages and christening money of our fine gentry, who are too nice and too tender to bear the fatigue of suckling their young ones, and often fret and repine, that they must go through that of breeding and bearing them. By this means, we often see two of those innocents pay the fine of their lives, to the unnatural pride of one mother, and the wicked avarice of the other. But there is a great inconvenience in this evil custom, which I never yet heard mentioned, and I believe is true, which is that supposing gentlemen's children do generally live, yet certainly by not suckling their own offspring, they breed double the numbers, which nature designed them, and how far this must weaken their bodies as well as oppress their fortunes, and what is still worse, overload the state (to say nothing of the females) with useless, idle loiterers, with beggars for beggarly employments, with sneakers after great men, with gentlemen's gentlemen, with rakes and with

sharpers, our people of fashion had need to consider.

But the rich and the fashionable ladies are not the only persons guilty of this horrible practice, for the affectation runs through the middle sort of people, who love to copy after them in every thing that can hurt them. And this will be found particularly true in and near great towns and cities, where the dearness of provisions, house-rent, fire and all necessaries, and the vicious manners and debauchery of the lower people, make the nurse less willing or able to do her duty, and the pride and avarice of the parents make them wink at all neglects and mismanagements, that deliver them in a few months from the burthen of another mouth and body to feed, clothe and provide for. Though citizens are often great breeders, yet it will be found whenever it is examined that scarce one-third of their children survive this method of management, and the general blame, with some truth, is thrown on ill nurses, though it might with good justice, be as much imputed to the unnatural neglects and want of affection in the parents.

Certainly our laws are but too gentle to such nurses, and why both they and the parents should not be accountable to the magistrate for such terrible misconduct, as we often see in these matters, I do not know; for if parents had the power of disclaiming and renouncing their children, as, for some time, the old Romans had, or could put them to death, when they pleased, as the Japanese may by law, I do not see how some of them could be more inhumanly used or worse treated, no, not if they were nursed by goats, as honest Montaigne tells us the peasants children in France, often are, when their mothers die.

There is another article, which I am loath to add to this sad account of things, because I know we are very seldom guilty of it, and that is the horrible practice of abortions. We see the famous midwife who was put to death at Paris for this crime, confessed she had procured many hundreds to conceal unhappy intrigues, but as we, I thank God, are strangers to such wickedness, I shall only say, that by way of prevention, if our laws made such practices felony, our posterity will neither be the fewer, nor the worse of it.

Before I quit this subject, I shall mention one particular more, which I am sure would prevent the loss of many infants, and that is, that some benevolent spirit, like Dr. Cheyne, would oblige the world with plain rational directions for families in the country, how to manage children from the birth till they have past the most usual distempers, as teeth, rickets, small pox, measles, red gum, gripes, and all such disorders. Such a work judiciously performed, would be a blessing in a literal sense of the words to children yet unborn, and to all mankind who are interested in their preservation; and if we consider how many children through the faults of their parents, have been lost, who might have been an ornament to the world, and an honour and defence to their country, we can never sufficiently wish for such a work, to which thousands in time to come, may owe their being.

The next point I shall touch on, which may contribute to the encreasing our numbers relates to our army. By ordering the troops to be recruited in Great Britain, his Majesty has done a signal service to this kingdom, which has been terribly exhausted by sending the flower of our people, and our Protestant people too, into the

army, to the loss of many thousand heads and families. It were to be wished however, that our horse and dragoons were not allowed to enlist any of our people no more than the foot, for they take off great numbers of our best bodied men, and we have none to spare from our trades, labour and husbandry. It would also be a great help to us, if all soldiers, when married three years, and having children, were allowed to quit the army, if they pleased, and would give security to settle here; for this would improve our breed and numbers, and especially since the reasons on which such intermixtures were formerly prohibited, are now entirely ceased.

As the confining debtors in prison deprives us of many hundreds of hands, we may very properly add here, that a law to prevent this entirely, or only to allow it with certain restrictions and limitations, would greatly contribute to this good end, both by releasing crowds of miserable men now under confinement, and preventing a much greater number from running abroad, to avoid the cruelties of a goal. It is plain by our statutes, that anciently no imprisonment for debt was allowed, and to this day in some countries, where the liberties of the people are in other respects entirely destroyed, they are free from this bondage, and their goods are only in the power of their creditors. And if this was the course with us, especially in such cases, where by unavoidable accidents, losses, &c. a debtor is unable to satisfy his creditors, it would be more reasonable than imprisoning an unfortunate man and beggaring his family, to gratify the cruelty of the creditors, who insist on what the law professedly abhors, the performing impossibilities. In cases thus circumstanced, the creditor should

at least be obliged to allow some poor pittance by the day to keep his prisoner from starving, and this would often prevent much misery on one side, aud the guilt of malice, nay sometimes of murder (for it deserves no other name) on the other. Where debts are small, the work-house and the labour of the debtor, would be a properer method of paying the demand, than the lazy, languishing famine of a goal, which is of no use to the creditor, or any one else, but those vermin of the state, bailiffs, and serjeants, and the masters and turnkeys of the marshalsea, who thrive by extorting on the wretched prisoners, and sucking out their very blood for meat, drink and lodging.

Indeed, where the debt is large, and the payment is fraudulently avoided, dungeons and chains, or being sold for slaves, is not too severe a punishment for so great a villainy, nor should any acts of grace be allowed to such, though they can hardly be too frequently extended to others, till our legislature think fit to take away entirely, or at least to limit and qualify the imprisonment of all candid, but insolvent debtors.

Whenever we are so happy as to see the one or the other determined by proper laws here, it will not only restore many useful hands to our manufactuers, and prevent others from flying abroad for bread and liberty, as we hinted before, but what is of more importance, it will encourage thousands of foreigners, as well as Englishmen, and their families, to come over and settle with us to our great advantage.

Another article I shall propose as conducive to encreasing our hands, is laying a tax on all absentees whatever, and a double one on all Popish gentlemen, who desert their country. If

'such anact could be got (and if it were entirely applied to the use of the army, or the mere service and profit of the crown without any limitation, it probably may be got) it would have incredible good effects in Ireland, both as to our numbers and our business and employment for them. But at least we may hope that such a law may pass as to our Roman Catholics, who above all men are inexcusable in living abroad, where their prejudices are encreased, their resentments sharpened, and their allegiance to the Pope and his bigotry absolutely confirmed. There are several things to be said on the subject of this last hint of disaffection, but as I hope in a few years they may be quite unnecessary, I shall gladly omit them, and pass to another useful expedient for encreasing our numbers, and that is by encouraging expeditious methods of labour.

This may seem at first sight, a sure way to make our people idle, but when it is well considered, it will appear quite otherwise, because the cheaper and the quicker we get our work done, the more hands we have to spare to other work, and the more we are also enabled to undersell others. This is plain from the Dutch sawing mills, and our stocking frames, which though they forced away many hands to seek other employments, yet by doing as much work for a shilling, as could be done for ten before, their invention gave great advantage to the goods at the market, and made them come cheaper to the buyer, and yet produced greater gain to the seller, and also saved so much clear labour, in other things, of good hands to the nation.

The inviting, encouraging and naturalizing all foreigners, and especially all Dutch and French

manufacturers, to come and settle among us is another point, which would be of great advantage to us in this matter. The body of every foreigner that settles among us is not only so much clear money gained to the nation, but we make a vast profit from his industry and labour, if he employs himself in any useful business whatever; and above all, if he be skilful in manufactures, which we want, or want to have improved among us. We can hardly therefore be too bountiful in assigning premiums, and allowing encouragements of all kinds, to invite such people to come over to us. As Holland swarms with inhabitants to that degree, that many of them actually live in covered boats for want of houses, we might with ease make such laws, as would allure many families to remove hither, and import with them their sobriety, industry, and frugal manners, to improve our people, as well as our several trades and manufactures. We should also to this good end soften the present laws concerning aliens and foreigners, and allow them to be members of Parliament and magistrates, and neither confine them to six servants, nor tie them down by our present oaths, to profess themselves Protestants; on the contrary, our kingdom should be as open, and give as good welcome to all strangers as an inn, and they should be free from all taxes of what kind or nature soever, during their lives, if they set up any manufactures which (seven of the trustees of the Linen Board should under their hands and seals declare,) deserve such exemption. These, or encouragements of this nature, would do wonders in a few years, and make us abound with such people, who are often uneasy at home, and know not where to be secure of good usage among strangers, if they quit their

country; and once they found a safe friendly place of refuge here, we should have thousands settle with us, and bring trade and wealth with them. As the two last things encreased and flourished, our people would multiply much faster, as they would be enabled to feed better and live warmer, and marry the earlier, when the means and methods of maintaining a family were enlarged and secured to them; they would then breed the faster, and live freer from diseases, or be enabled to get them cured without the help of hospitals. Thus we should soon have our country fully furnished with people, and our cities like hives swarming with inhabitants, and let us now see how we could feed and employ them, and prevent their being drones and burdens to the public.

Let us to this great end lay down this useful RESOLUTION, as the best means to secure such a blessing to us, *viz.*

We resolve as members of Parliament to provide and contrive all the best methods and ways we can for employing our people, and encreasing their industry.

It is certain that the property of every nation depends as absolutely on the industry of its people, as the safety of a ship, on the diligence and labour of the mariners who sail in her; and therefore it is to the last degree incumbent on us to secure this great point, which we are generally reckoned very defective in. It is computed that we have above 100,000 idle hands in Ireland, which are useless burthens to the earth for want of proper care to employ them, and which might bring in a vast fund of wealth to us by their la-

bour. We may boast of the goodness of our soil and climate, and the plenty we enjoy, but our people may starve in the midst of it, unless they be kept usefully busied. Natural wealth, as corn, cattle, mines, wood, flax, wool, silk, &c. as it gives the inhabitants who possess it an easy plenty, so it makes them indolent, idle, vain and voluptuous; whereas artificial wealth, as the working up and manufacturing the other to the height, begets industry, frugality, wisdom, diligence and skill. Indeed as our fuel and victuals, our lands, house-rent and taxes, are more favourable to trade by their cheapness, than any other nation, we may make a vast advantage thereof, if we are at the same time laborious and industrious, for then we may undersell all the rest of the world. Without this industry we shall turn our blessings into curses, and our advantages into misfortunes, for our plenty will prove but the mother of idleness; it being certain, that when bread is cheap, our people care less for work, and always insist on higher wages, when provisions are low. But in nations where the laws have introduced an habitual course of industry the people work on, and pursue their business, whatever it is, regularly and constantly, without any regard to the market. There every hand is kept busy, whereas with us great numbers are useless, or but half employed at most. Sir William Petty in his time computed our people were not a fifth part employed, and even now notwithstanding we are kept tolerably busy with our linen in the north, yet great numbers of the other provinces, and especially women and children, are quite idle.

If, as Dr. Chamberlain computes the very children of Norwich from six to sixteen years do earn 12000l. per ann. more than they spend,

what a sum might we raise to the public, by the hands of our Irish children who do nothing. In many parts of the kingdom where trade and our manufactures have not yet reached, the natives have contracted a sort of natural indisposition to labour, and have an habitual sloth, which nothing can remove but the severest laws. If idleness was made as penal as felony, or at least as petty larceny, it would not be unequitable, especially in Ireland, where idlers are the great nursery of felons, and like them live on the spoil of their industrious neighbours, and above all, as the nation suffers more by the numerous tribe of the one sort, who will not work, than from the small number of those who rob and steal. Some severe law of this kind might make a great reform in the listless, slothful temper of many of the Irish, and let us now see if there are not some particular bodies of men among us, who instead of being punished, are paid for their idleness, and therefore should be forced or encouraged to greater industry. And the first I shall mention are our soldiers, who in time of peace are the most useless members of the commonwealth, and are so absolutely idle, that it is a punishable offence in their discipline, if any of them endeavour to be useful to themselves or their fellow-subjects by their labour, while they have the honour to wear the king's livery. At the same time many of them have trades, and would gladly follow them, and therefore if they were enabled by law, with proper limitations to work at their trade, at least so many days in the week, without suing for leave, or giving any fee or reward to their officer, it would enable them to live more at ease, and would no ways disqualify them for the business of a soldier, and all their

work would be so much clear gains to the nation. If this were once regulated by law, I cannot but think it would be of great service to us; for the labour of so many thousand men, even at thirty shillings a year, a piece, would come to near 20,000l. per ann. to our country, which would thus receive more benefit from their hands, than, I hope, we shall ever have occasion for, from their swords.

Our poorest sort of attornies, solicitors, half-starved lawyers, and their clerks, are another lazy set of men, which might be better employed in trade and tillage, than in doing nothing or doing mischief in their country, as pettyfoggers, barraters, and fomenting vexatious suits, and ruining numbers of families by making a trade and a sport of the laws. If the numbers of lawyers of all sorts were limited, as well as that of their clerks, and none but men of probity and substance admitted as attornies, till after seven years apprenticeship, we should not only have fewer of these gentlemen swarming like locusts over the labours of our people, but we should also see very many of them employed as able farmers, and industrious tradesmen, or merchants, to the advantage of Ireland. At present that worthy profession is so overstocked with practisers, that to prevent their starving one another, we should have a law, that in all suits, twenty counsellors and ten attornies should be feed of a side, though the truth is we are running as fast as we can of ourselves, into that good method already, a grievance which calls loudly for correction, as well as the abolishing the fees of many needless offices, reducing the length of our suits, the vast fees to counsel, the dilatory and expensive forms and rules of the courts, and especially the Chan-

cery, the number of processes, short answers, bills of revivor, postponing of causes, rehearings, special pleadings, demurrers and exceptions, the charge and delays of masters in Chancery, and the registers, writs of error, fines and recoveries, and a number of other oppressive and expensive methods. Were these burthens and obstructions to quick and speedy justice removed, and vexatious and litigious suits made penal and fineable, and what is of main importance, if not only all writs, &c. were in the English tongue and the common legible hand, but our laws all abridged, like those of Denmark, into one volume, we should both save hundreds of families from ruin, and gain a prodigious number of useful men, (who without such exorbitant methods, fees and management could never be maintained) to turn themselves to improving and enriching their country, who are now taken up in impoverishing it, and feeding themselves as naturalists say camelions do by catching flies with their tongues. And since I have touched on this matter I will add that if there was a sort of *Custos Legum* in each county, or an officer with a proper salary, and sworn to see the Laws duly put in execution and under proper penalties, to sue offenders, it would probably greatly lessen that old complaint, that we have the best laws, and the worst executed of all nations. There is another sort of gentlemen, who get very large wages for doing very little, and are entirely taken up in writing discharges and receiving of rents, I mean the agents of our estated Gentlemen. These pen and ink men generally know the world and the business in it so thoroughly and manage it so well, that it is a pity they have not been entrusted to direct some useful branch of it for the service of

their country, as well as their employers. If they were obliged by law under large penalties in order to qualify themselves as agents, to keep one loom going for every 200l. per ann. they received of gentlemen's rentals, and kept a regular manufacture on foot, in that proportion on every estate under their direction, I conceive they would be large gainers by it themselves as well as their employers, and at the same time occasion the setting up many new manufactures, where otherwise they would never have been thought on, and thereby greatly enlarge our linen business. This would force our absentees and our indolent gentlemen at home, who can mind no business, to do us some service, and at the same time this service would be managed and directed by a set of men as able and as well qualified to improve it remarkably, as could be found in the nation. As they might easily be tied down to keep all their looms in one fixed place, and constantly employed, and all possible evasions prevented, it is to be hoped our legislature may make use of this expedient, to prevail on our idle gentlemen at home, and our faithful envoys abroad, who keep agents to do us this good office, without interrupting their pleasures, or disturbing their heads with any business, that concerns either their country or themselves.

Our Popish priests are another set of idle creatures who are paid for their sloth; these bead bidders are a race of men who live, and will live among us, though they are dead in law; and since as things are managed there can be no thought of getting rid of them with quiet and ease, I do not see any reason, why we may not tolerate all such by law, who would keep such a moderate proportion of looms going regularly

in one house, to be proved on oath at the sessions, and vouched by certificates from the parish minister, and one or two of the neighbouring justices. This would be a means to bring our good catholics into measures for the service of our poor island, and make numbers of them set up looms and manufactures, which otherwise they would have left to the management of heretics, as things of too much labour and trouble.

But further it would contribute greatly to employ our poor, and encrease the industry of our people, if every cabin in the country, was obliged by law to pay 2s. 6d. hearth-money, who could not shew in its garden at least one quarter of a rood of flax-seed growing, and one good spinning-wheel in the house. As light as that sixpenny tax seems, it would produce many hundred more wheels, and acres of flax in the kingdom every year, than there are now, and would of consequence employ many thousand hands among our poor Irish natives, who at present are busied in little but gathering sticks, and cow-dung for want of turf, and digging their wretched potatoes for want of bread. It might at first be accompanied with some difficulties, but if a few examples were made of those, who neglected to comply, and a year's warning given to all, before the act was brought into execution, I make no doubt but with due regulations and improvements, this little tax might produce great things among us.

But we must return to another set of men, who are well paid for doing little or nothing, and are therefore like all other idlers a vast draw-back to the prosperity and industry of Ireland, I mean our coast officers, guagers, [illegible] money-collectors, tide-waiters, supernum[illegible]s, survey-

ors, and I know not how many more, among whom we may justly place our barrack-masters, all which classes of men, have large salaries and little employment. If every one of these was by law obliged to have a wife and an house (for numbers of them affect to be lodgers and live unmarried) and were to keep a loom, and a weaver still at work, or to forfeit their place or half their salary, it would be some atonement for the listless, useless way of life they lead, except the few days, and the few hours on those days, which they give to the business of their offices. This would produce more breeders and houses among us, and would occasion the making several hundreds of looms, and employing as many thousand hands, which otherwise had never been set on work in this nation of idlers. There might be such a number of scores of linen settled by law to be wrought by all such looms, with proper vouchers, and on failure, such a proportion of their salaries to be saved to the nation, and paid to the trustees of the linen-board, to help our manufactures. Whether this law might be extended higher, or carried further, and whether at least inn-keepers, dancing-masters, fidlers, musicians of all kinds, players, and keepers of taverns and ale-houses might not also be included in it, the legislature are the best judges, but certainly in a country where the people are naturally indolent and slothful, we need not give wages, at least, for doing nothing, when so many make it their choice, and we might very reasonably article, that they should labour by proxy or be paid by halves. Every collector should be impowered by law to take affidavits from all his inferior officers, of their keeping, and actual employing such looms in their houses, and to

make oath to our commissioners, on passing his accounts that he had done so, and return their affidavits, and a list of all those who had failed in complying with the several conditions required by the act, that their salaries may be stopped for the linen board.

Another most important method by which we might employ our people, and encrease their industry, if encouraged sufficiently by the Legislature is our fisheries.

Mr. Dobbs has writ so well and so fully on this matter, that I cannot but recommend his essay on our trade, and this branch of it in particular, to the perusal of every Irish gentleman. But besides this, I have read and considered many tracts, that seem to be written with great truth and judgment on this subject, and they give such large accounts of the gain the Dutch make by it, that it is amazing we should not long since have fallen into it, and endeavoured to share it with them. But I have read a proclamation of the States-General prohibiting the exportation of staves for herring barrels, and fishing-nets to foreigners under great penalties, in which they call that branch of their fishery, their chiefest trade and principal gold-mine, which is the greatest confirmation of all the advantages, which those authors assign to it, though many of them seem to have writ with a secret envy to the Dutch gain by commerce. I shall only observe, how greatly we, as well as Great Britain have neglected it, how useful it might be to us, and consequently how necessary it is that we should encourage it.

Even as early as Harry the VIIth's time, that wise king endeavoured in vain to put his subjects upon this useful trade by writing to his seaport

towns, and offering to lend them large sums to begin it. It is true trade was then almost in its infancy, but when it rose and flourished in the following reigns, the English were fonder of the sweets and ease of those branches of trade, which had less of toil and hazard; and since the revolution we have been so linked to the Dutch by mutual interests, that England did not care to interfere in this favourite branch of their traffic; and yet as the great struggle for the mastery in trade, will probably one day come to be decided by the strongest fleet at sea, and as their fisheries are the great nurseries of their seamen, trade and strength, there could not possibly be a more effectual method taken by England, to weaken those rivals of the ocean, whenever we must meet as enemies, than by discouraging their fisheries, and encouraging those of our own subjects, which alone would destroy their naval strength, and vanquish them almost without striking a blow. They employ every year 800 busses from 30 to 50 ton in the herring fishery, each of which, besides her 16 seamen employs 30 trades to fit her out, and two ships are to carry off her fish early to market, and another to supply her with casks, salt, nets, &c. And also occasions an immense trade for building, victualling, and furnishing her for the sea, and moreover gives employment to a number of hands on shore; so that if once they were obstructed in this vital part of their commerce, the consequences must be fatal to them, and of mighty advantage to us, if we could succeed in their place, or even lessen their gain, by sharing it with them. This it is certain we may in time easily do, for our wages and victualling are cheaper, our harbours are nearer to us to shelter our ships, and refresh our people, and supply all our wants, and

our shores at hand to dry our nets, and land our fish when they are taken. This also gives us a double advantage, which they can never have, both of making red herring, which cannot be in perfection unles they are directly carried on shore when taken, and of our sending our fish long before them to market in the Baltic, and the Streights; whereas they are obliged by their laws to sail first to Holland, and repack their herrings before they export them. As this trade is left entirely open to us, and is so convenient to us, that the fish come to our very doors to be taken, how faulty and negligent must we have been, in overlooking it so long, which might have enriched the nation, and employed our poor, and given so comfortable a subsistence to so many different trades; since even women and children, nay the lame and the blind, if they have hands, might get bread by it, as spinners, cord-wainers, and net-makers, &c. throughout the year. I fancy if we get sufficient coals of our own, we shall save even the expence of salt to cure our fish, which they must transport from France at a dear price, and though our want of their experience and skill, may make our first attempts this way, more liable to expence and hazard, yet time and application will soon make us masters of this gainful business, and put us more on a level with them. Mr. Borrish observes, in his Batavia Illustrata that their pretended secret of the manner of salting their herrings is a mere chimera, the whole art consisting in an extreme neatness in the materials they use, and in curing the herrings as soon as they are taken, and, as it were killing them with the very salt with which they are pickled, before the air and sun have made any impresssion on them.

Besides, we may not only procure from Holland, all the placarts relating to their curing and management to direct us, but we may hire a competent number of skilful hands from thence to instruct us in the art, if we have spirit enough to encourage them and ourselves to undertake it. As to cod, and ling, and the white fishing, which succeed that of the herring, and between them take up the whole of the year, it is certain there is no mystery in curing and salting them, and we can have no hazard of succeeding in it, as it is so easy and practicable, and that the Dogger-bank lies so convenient to us, as well as abundance of banks (where they swarm) upon our own coasts; we may say the same as to our pilchards, which, as well as our herrings, Sir William Monson says, are the best in the world. This trade, before the revolution, we had a particular company engaged in, (as Sir William Petty tells us) with great success in the west, though we have shamefully laid it aside ever since. However, as Lieutenant Chaplain has lately undertaken the whale fishing on our northern coast and our parliament hath resolved to encourage that and all our other fisheries, it is to be hoped we shall see them flourish, at least proportionably to the warmth and zeal they espouse them with. And, indeed, as they may prove in Sir William Temple's words, as rich a mine to us under water, as any we have under ground, (unless we will excuse our laziness in not taking them, as Busquebius * says the Turks did theirs to him, *viz.* because they run away when they went to catch them) I cannot see what can prevent our succeeding in a design, which, with due care will not leave

* Epist. 1. p. 99.

us a beggar or an idle hand in the kingdom. If four provincial companies were estabished, as Sir William Temple proposes, with a president and council elected by the subscribers, and encouraged by law with large privileges and immunities to all the members; or, if an act past (as he speaks) that none should be capable of being either chose into a parliament, or the commission of the peace, who had not such a proportioned stock there, it might greatly further this useful undertaking. And, indeed, the bringing our fisheries of all kinds to perfection, would be of such infinite consequence to the wealth and trade of Ireland, and would raise such a spirit of industry in our people, and invite so many thousands of families to settle with us, that we should leave no stone unturned, nor expence spared to nurse it up, and bring it through the dangers and accidents it must meet with in its infancy, to its full growth and strength. Possibly, it may be worth our while to oblige every nobleman, knight, esquire, and clergyman, to form a fund for this trade (and all to have equal profit) to put such a share proportioned to his income (suppose 1*l.* per cent.) as well as every person in office or pension of any kind; and why our wine merchants, who ruin us with their destructive trade, should not be obliged to keep so many busses among them, or to pay very largely per head to the support of this beneficial one, I cannot see, unless we had rather favour those who undo us, than those who would retrieve and support us. It is certain as serviceable as our fisheries unquestionably would be, they can never be carried on for some years but with loss, unless we give great encouragement to all who undertake them, because we

want both skill and experience as well as money and industry. We must therefore shew it the highest favour, and give it the largest assistance we possibly can, or it will never succeed, or, at leas' not under a longer course of time than our affairs can want it. If we should next sessions allow double, or even treble the premiums that are now assigned to it, we should probably accomplish the work three times the sooner, and have ten fold the profit from it, that we can now expect, and certainly in our lanquishing condition we should never think that we can purchase life and health too dear.

There is another method, which, though of smaller consequence, would, if duly regulated, be of singular use to assist our poorer sort of tradesmen, and quicken their industry, and that is, by establishing Lombard-houses.

This is a method that has been long practised with wonderful success in several of the best cities in Italy and Germany, where it has made some amends, by the industry it has produced, for the lazy indolence of their abbies and monasteries. But the Dutch, who excel all the world in the economy of trade, and the employing their poor, have made such use of these Lombards, that they have not left a beggar in their country by the assistance they have afforded them. It were to be wished that in this kingdom (where, I may almost say, we have very few that are not beggars) we would try if the same remedy would, in time, have the same effect, by supplying our needy artificers with money on pawns at easier terms than they can get it now. The difficulties they meet with, at present, to procure it, are a great drawback on their labour; for, if they buy goods on trust, or

borrow ready cash from usurers, they pay such excessive rates for them, that they can hardly support themselves under such extortion with all their industry. There is such a scarcity of money, that all trade and business, especially in the lower sort, frequently stagnates; the employer is afraid to hire journeymen, when he is pinched to provide their wages, or if he does, it is at such poor rates that they can hardly live by them. This produces beggars and bankrupts, and often, to delay ruin, frauds, and cheats in the manufacture which they work up in haste to answer their contracts with extortioners and oppressors. Whereas, if money were plentier, and to be had on easier terms, men would naturally be more industrious; for lazy as some of our people are, few of them would beg and live miserably, who could, by working, support themselves comfortably, as all might do, if trade were once quickened by an increase of our cash, or, which is much the same thing, by a brisker circulation of it, and an easier way of procuring it. This would be most effectually done if once Lombard-houses were established by law in all our great towns, where the magistrates might lend money, on pledges, at such reasonable interest as the legislature shall direct. Mr. Bindon, in his excellent essay on this subject (which well deserves to be read and considered) proposes, that they should lend all sums of 10l. or less, at 4d. per pound, the calendar month, all above 10l. and not exceeding 20l. at 3d. and all above 20l. and not exceeding 40l. at 2d. All sums to be lent for a year (but payable when the borrower pleases) and, on failure, the pledge to be sold by cant, and the surplus, deducting

charges, returnable to the owner, if he demands it in time, or else to go (as all the profits of the foundation do) to the helpless poor. Possibly it might be said, that the proposed interest is too high, and also that 20l. is a sufficient sum for Lombards to lend, but such objections will have little weight with those who consider the excessive interest daily paid by needy persons to pawn-brokers and usurers, and the large sums they lend out this way, safe from all the enquiries of the law, and the arts of the informers. And, certainly, so many good consequences are to be hoped for from such a law, and so few bad ones can possibly be feared from it, that till we can find many such public spirited persons as the Dean of St. Patrick's to lend considerable sums, in this charitable way, at the common interest, to the poor, it would be very desirable, that we were allowed to try the effects it would have on our people and trade for a few years at least.

Another particular I shall mention as useful to make our people more industrious is, by encouraging by proper premiums those politer arts, which are in a manner strangers to our country, I mean sculpture, painting, and architecture. There are nations in Europe, a great part of whose wealth consists in the vast treasures left them by the illustrious professors of these arts in their ways; and though we can hardly hope to rival them, we should, at least, aim so far to employ and enrich our people by them, as may both spur on their industry, improve our taste, and adorn our country. Even architecture alone, where nations cultivate it, gives business to a surprizing number of trades; and it is impossible so many of our nobility and gentry could be so

meanly lodged as they are, if we had not so few architects in Ireland, who are capable of directing or assisting them in their buildings. It is for want of good houses of our own at home, that we are so apt to take up with lodgings abroad with foreigners, where we spend every year what would build up lasting and beautiful seats for our families, and make our lives delightful to ourselves, and useful to all around us. It is a plain proof that a nation flourishes, and its industry increases (and, indeed, a great cause of it too) when its buildings enlarge and improve, and, as we see among the Jews, in their most thriving state, under Solomon, not only the great temple of Jerusalem, but several palaces for the king, and even cities for the people were finished with immense expence and labour. So we find the riches and industry of the nation, and all the handicraft arts, (and even sculpture) flourished there, and, indeed, ever will flourish in all kingdoms thereby. And the same may be said of painting and sculpture, they would create infinite business for our artists, and amusement and delight for our gentry, if once they were cultivated and improved by due encouragement among us; and, as they have still been considered by all civilized nations as the greatest elegancies and ornaments of every country, so that utter neglect of them, which prevails in Ireland, will ever be a proof against us of barbarism and Gothic ignorance, until we shake it off. It is true, as one said of greater trifles, *Poterimus vivere sine illis*; but though our country and climate seems more cut out for labour and toil, and the industry of the manufacturer and husbandmen, than the pleasure and delight of the softer arts of the warmer

and more delicate regions on the continent, yet certain it is, when the necessities and conveniencies of nature are sufficiently provided for, the arts of delight and amusement will constantly come in, and if we do not bring them to us, we will be apt to go abroad to them. Since we must have luxury, we should encourage that kind of it which has the most of pleasure, and nothing of vice in it; which will give bread and industry to our natives, and may be turned also to other useful purposes; for, though possibly painting and sculpture may have hurt the religion of the continent, I am sure it might contribute, if well directed, to raise and enlarge the virtue of our people here, since painted histories of great actions, and the statues of great men cannot possibly be beheld without warming the heart and enflaming the mind to admire, emulate and revere them.

At as low an ebb as these arts are in Ireland, I am confident, if reasonable salaries were appointed by the public to two or three foreign architects; or, if the linen or tillage boards, or the DUBLIN SOCIETY, had funds assigned them to give premiums annually to the three best pictures, and the three best statues made here, or the architects of the three best houses built annually in this kingdom, we should in time see surprizing improvements in them all among us.

But it is time to conclude, and therefore, (though I omit many others) I shall hasten to the last method I shall recommend to increase the industry of our people, and that is, by assigning premiums to be given annually to any native of Ireland who shall produce the most useful invention in trade (or any of the liberal or manual arts) which shall be judged of

the greatest service to mankind. If this were once regularly established, and men's thoughts encouraged to fall to work by the hopes of distinction and premiums, it is not easy to conceive what effects it would produce, and if necessity be the mother of invention, as the poet says, *Ingenium mala sæpe movent.* I am sure we may hope to be greater inventors than the Germans themselves. Every man feels such a natural delight in the ευρεκα of all new discoveries and inventions, that it is impossible we should not have had much more of them in the world, if it were not for the ill usage they generally meet with in it. It is certain most inventors (if we would reckon them up) have been so ill treated by those whom they have laboured to serve, that it daunts men's spirits from making any bold attempts this way; whereas, they ought not only, when they succed, to be favoured and encouraged by rewards to them and their children also, but they should be assisted in their trials, and, instead, of being derided and abused when when they miscarry, they should be cherished and succoured; and even honoured and applauded. As we are idle as well as poor, we have another good title to be inventors, and may employ our solitude this way, in hopes, by this means, to deserve the notice and esteem of our rich neighbours; and, as we have wide fields of matter to work on, there is no doubt but they will soon produce means and instruments for the business, it being certain that invention, and the means of inventing, do as constantly beget each other, as dung and fruitful harvests. But as I propose in time to enlarge on this matter in a properer manner to the DUBLIN SOCIETY I shall say no more on it here, and shall only ob-

serve, before I conclude this essay, of what vast importance premiums may be to any nation, and to ours above all others, if we would apply them in a proper manner to the many useful purposes and designs, which want most to be established among us.

We can never pay too dear a purchase for the general industry of the nation, which such methods would secure to us. It is true they would cost us a good deal, but as no one will work for us without wages, so, where the work is of vast importance to us, we must expect to pay our people (and our lazy people above all) something extraordinary; and, as public work goes on slow, and is never carried on cheaply; and, as we are not only poor, but dispirited too, we must resolve to spur on and enliven our countrymen by these expensive methods, or we shall dream on, and die at last of a lethargy.

We see what prodigious premiums the British legislature and the States General have assigned for the longitude, but ours are not designed to be applied to impossible performances, but to real, useful blessings, to the manufactures, and trade, and tillage, and a thousand other improvements of our country. We all know by a most happy experience, that with about 8000l. per ann. to the linen board, we have gained near 500,000l. per ann. to Ireland, and with as small a spark we may light up as great a fire, which, like that, may enliven and warm the whole of our kingdom: 20,000l. per ann. in premiums, skilfully applied, would set every idle hand in the nation at work, and thereby bring us in at least an additional million from our exports. This is demonstrably certain, and it is as undeniably true, that we ought instantly to

set about them, and they would give us the easiest, the safest, and the cheapest purchase that ever was made by man. Could we have bought the West Indies from Columbus (as Harry the VIIth. was offered them) for a few ships and men, unless we could have arts and industry thrown into the purchase, it would not have done such real service; and we ought therefore to contrive every method to forward this design, and surmount any difficulty that can obstruct so blessed and hopeful an undertaking. We can never want funds for such premiums, as I could with ease demonstrate, had I time to enlarge on that subject here. But I will content myself with just hinting, in a few words, that we shall never be at a loss for 20,000l. per ann. while we have the follies of our dress, our luxurious imports, and our wine above all, our pensions and salaries, our windows, our coaches, or our train of useless servants, our absentees, or our gamesters (that I may name no more now) to lay proper and reasonable taxes on.

If we made our lives safer from fire, and secured our nation from the wasting importation of Norway deals, by taxing all future wainscot in our houses, and forcing us to stucco; if we stopped the madness of our spendthrifts, or made them help the state to thrive, by their paying, to this use, the fiftieth part of all lands sold, as they do in Switzerland; if we appropriated, as they do in France, the fourth part of the profit of all plays, prizes, shews, music-meetings, &c. to this end, or laid a tax on stamped paper and parchment, on newspapers and almanacks; or, above all, if we appropriated the plain, rational, certain profit of a national bank

to these excellent hopes and views, we should soon establish funds and premiums that would make us a flourishing and industrious people.

But I have done—and am but too sensible if I had shewn in this poor essay half that regard to my reputation, that I have given to a vain and empty zeal of doing good to Ireland, I should have done much sooner. The truth is, as the Spaniard says, I had not time to make it shorter, having sent it to the press as fast as I could get it written and copied; nor had I care, or temper, or a day to spare to correct the rash sallies and rambles of my thoughts. What I fondly wished to shew my countrymen was chiefly this plain fact, that it is entirely in their own power and choice, by restraining their luxury and encreasing their industry, to retrieve their wretched circumstances. If any good comes from my poor endeavours, all is well—but if not, and that all that can be said, or done, by the friends of Ireland, to help us, must go for nothing with our heedless countrymen—why, there is an end of a few idle hopes; and I can only bid them farewel, with this wounding complaint, that I fear we must be miserable, without deserving to be relieved! and undone, without deserving to be pitied!

FINIS.